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# PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

# ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE.

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VOLUME THE FOURTH.

1872-73.

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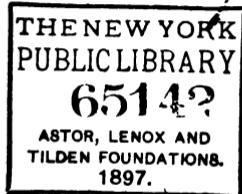
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ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE,  
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*October, 1873.*

ROYAL COLONIAL  
INSTITUTE  
1873.

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1872-73.

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\* Dr. Mouat resigned his seat in the Council on the 7th of January, 1873, and General Sir H. C. B. Daubeney, K.C.B., was elected in his vacancy.

(For List of Council of 1873-74, see p. 240.)

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# THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE.

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## SESSION 1872-73.

THE Session of 1872-3 was inaugurated by a Dinner at the Pall Mall Restaurant, on 17th December, at which were present His Grace the Duke of Manchester, who as President occupied the chair; the Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, M.P.; Sir Harry Parkes, K.C.B., Ambassador to Japan; General Sir Charles Daubeney, K.C.B.; Sir Francis Smith, Chief Justice of Tasmania; Sir Charles Nicholson, Bart.; Sir R. G. MacDonnell, K.C.M.G. and C.B., late Governor of Hong-Kong; Sir R. R. Torrens, M.P., K.C.M.G.; Edward Greaves, Esq., M.P.; F. S. Dutton, Esq., C.M.G., Agent-General of South Australia; Colonel T. St. L. Alcock; Lieut.-Col. Laurie, Staff, of Canada; Captain Wyatt; James Youl, Esq., of Tasmania; W. C. Sargeaunt, Esq., Agent of the Crown Colonies; A. J. Otway, Esq., M.P.; Henry Blaine, Esq., of the Cape; Alexander M'Arthur, Esq., Gisborne Molineux, Esq., Secretary to the Canada Company; Hugh Jamieson, Esq., of Australia; Rev. N. Sullivan, late of Australia; C. W. Eddy, Esq.; C. J. Brand, Esq., son of the President of the Orange Free State, as guest of Mr. Eddy; Charles Bourne, Esq.; H. E. Montgomerie, Esq., Manager of the Allan Mail Line; A. Kinnaird, Esq., jun.; Leonard Wray, Esq., of the Straits Settlements; Rev. G. R. Badenoch; H. Tanner, Esq.; J. V. H. Irwin, Esq.; S. V. Morgan, Esq.; F. P. Labilli  re, Esq., of Australia; T. Smith, Esq., of Australia; Abraham Scott, Esq., of Australia; T. Scott, Esq., of Australia; Frederick Young, Esq.; Patrick Auld, Esq., of Australia; Archibald McLachlan, Esq.; F. A. Wiggins, Esq.; Dr. Cogswell, of New Brunswick; Alexander Rivington, Esq.; Jacob Montefiore, Esq.; A. R. Roche, Esq.; Rev. J. C. Wharton; Cornelius Thorne, Esq., of New Zealand; A. B. Abraham, Esq., of New Zealand; G. R. Godson, Esq.; James Wheeler, Esq., Secretary to the Queensland Agency; Archibald Stewart, Esq.; George Lyons, Esq., Secretary of British Australian Telegraph Company; Lieut.-Col. Denison, of Canada; — Kermod, Esq., jun., of Tasmania; Carteret Hill, Esq., of Nova Scotia; E. S. Roche, Esq.; &c., &c.

Letters from Sir John Rose, Bart., Sir G. E. Cartier, Bart., of Canada, the Hon. J. Dunn, of Tasmania, Sir Antonio Brady, and from other gentlemen, were read, expressing their regret at being unable to attend; and it may be stated that the severity of the weather prevented a more numerous gathering.

The Duke of MANCHESTER, in proposing "The Queen and the Empire," remarked that one toast conveyed two ideas. On a recent occasion, when there were assembled most of those who were present that night, besides many others, a similar toast was proposed by the Earl of Kimberley, who made some remarks to which he wished to take exception, not because he belonged to either of the political parties which existed in England, but because the subject to which the noble Earl referred was, in his opinion, one of far greater importance than the success or the failure of any political party in the United Kingdom. (Hear, hear.) Lord Kimberley alluded to the fears which were at one time expressed as to what might be the policy of the present Government, and he regarded the expression of those fears as a party cry from his political opponents in this country. He (the Duke) was happy to say that the subject had never been taken up as a political matter by any body of men in England. (Hear, hear.) It was a matter of far greater importance than a mere party question, and viewed in that light Lord Kimberley's remarks were much more satisfactory than they would otherwise have been. His speech was not an answer to his political opponents, but was rather a declaration to the whole Empire. Both Colonists and their friends at home had had some reason to doubt the present Government, and he should be glad if these doubts were dispelled by what the noble Earl had said. There had been some reason to fear that, floating in the minds of the present Government, there had been an idea of at least submitting to, even if they did not encourage, the disruption of the Empire. The unity of the Empire was what he was sure all Englishmen would endeavour to maintain, under a constitutional Sovereign. (Cheers.)

A Report as to the progress which the Institution had made during the past year was next read by the Duke of Manchester:—

GENTLEMEN,—I am happy to be able to report to you that our Institute has continued to make good progress since I had the pleasure of seeing you at the Annual Meeting in June, and that its utility is becoming more and more recognised throughout the Colonies and at home.

This is substantially proved by the accessions to our numbers, and by the numerous contributions of books and papers which our

library is receiving, as well as by the recognitions from time to time in the Colonial and in the English press.

Forty-six Fellows have been elected since the meeting in June, of whom 25 are resident and 21 non-resident, making up the number of 97 elected during the present year.

It is very desirable that the Institute's sphere of usefulness should be extended as widely as possible, and in promotion of this object, the Council will be obliged by the suggestion of the names of gentlemen who would be desirable additions to our list either as resident or non-resident Fellows.

The Society of Arts, the Victoria Institute, and other societies circulate forms of proposal with their annual reports, and we did so, it appears, in 1870, and perhaps might as well do so again.

The event which immediately followed the Annual Meeting in June was a dinner at the Cannon-street Hotel, which was open to the members of the Institute, and to any of their Colonial friends who might happen to be in England.

This proved so successful and pleasant a reunion that it is hoped it may be repeated at the close of each session.

The third volume of the transactions of the Institute, containing the papers and discussions of the last session, together with the remainder of those of 1871, are in the printer's hands, and will be issued very shortly.

During the recess a circular has been addressed to competent persons in the Colonies, inviting contributions to a series of papers descriptive of the various portions of Her Majesty's dominions with the view of compiling a synopsis of the whole Empire, and these invitations are now being favourably responded to from various quarters.

The papers at present arranged for during this session are as follow:—

Balance Sheet of the Washington Treaty in account with the People of Great Britain and her Colonies, by the Rt. Hon. Viscount Bury, M.P.

The Marine and Fisheries of Canada, by J. G. Bourinot, Esq., of the Senate of Canada.

Canada, by Wm. Johnstone, Esq., M.P.

Statistics of the West Indies, by Wm. Walker, Esq. (a Member of the Council).

The Straits Settlements, by Leonard Wray, Esq. (a Member of the Council).

The Land Laws of the Australian Colonies, by James Smith, Esq., of Melbourne.

Queensland, by the Agent-General for Queensland.

Discovery and Early History of Victoria, by F. P. Labilli  re, Esq., of Victoria.

Looplines of Mail Service to some of the Colonies, by C. W. Eddy, Esq., the Hon. Secretary.

The first meeting will be on the 21st of January. Of this due notice will be given.

The Society of Arts continue to show the most cordial disposition to us, and continue the loan of their Theatre for our meetings whenever it is in their power to place it at our service. It may be hoped, however, that looking to the rapid increase of our numbers, no long time will elapse before we shall be more adequately lodged than in our present quarters in the Strand.

The Australian Colonies, it is understood, entertain the idea of erecting a building for the purpose of permanently exhibiting their rich and varied productions, and we may hope that it will be possible to make arrangements by which our Institute may find appropriate accommodation in such a building, should the locality prove to be suitable.

On the opening of telegraphic communication with Australia, about six weeks ago, it appeared to the Council that an event calculated to have so beneficial an influence in strengthening the ties which unite the Colonies with the mother country should not be allowed to pass without notice, and that it was just one of those occasions which should demonstrate the utility of such a society as ours; the Council accordingly took the initiative by summoning a public meeting, and at this meeting it was decided to have a dinner in celebration of the opening, and the Institute was requested to lend its aid to the Committee which was formed for the purpose of arranging it. This it readily gave, and it will be fresh in your recollection that the banquet proved a great success, and that it was signalised by the extreme enthusiasm with which the toast of the "Integrity of the British Empire," given by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, was received by the whole company present, which may be said to have virtually represented every part of Her Majesty's dominions.

An account of this celebration will be published under the auspices of the Institute.

In conclusion, gentlemen, I congratulate you on the gradual attainment of those results for which our Institute was formed, as the first of which I would name the most cordial sympathies between the old country and her Colonies.

We claim a share of the credit of having evoked frequent ex-

pression of such sentiments, not the least important of which you heard the other day.

Lord Kimberley, a prominent member of a Government whose words and whose acts did certainly give rise to grave doubts in the minds of Colonists and of their friends—not belonging to one only, but to all political parties at home—assured us in no measured terms at the banquet to which I have referred, that no set of persons would now dare to propose to Englishmen the disruption of the Empire.

But I venture to think that even that was not enough, and Lord Kimberley seems to have forgotten motions made in the House of Commons by supporters of the Government and members of our Institute, calling for still closer union with the Colonies. He has forgotten the discouraging replies of the Government to these motions. We still have work to do, though we have helped to call forth some patriotic sentiments.

May we then work on and prosper till all parts of the Empire are united still more closely than they are even now, when energetic men have put a “girdle round about the earth in 40 minutes.”

His Grace added that he was happy to see amongst the guests of the evening the son of a distinguished man in South Africa. He had also lately had the pleasure of seeing at his house an eminent public man from the Cape (M. de Roubaix), who had assured him that he should carry back to his Colony the most agreeable impression of the improved tone of public opinion on Colonial affairs, as was so strongly manifested at the late telegraph celebration, and for which the Colonial Institute might, in his opinion, fairly take credit to itself.

Mr. KINNAIRD said the President had made an edict that there were to be no more toasts and no speeches, but he thought they would do wrong so to separate, particularly after the cheerful announcement which the Chairman had made that the Institute was likely to get larger premises owing to their increasing necessities. No doubt the noble Duke alluded to Downing-street—(laughter)—where there was a vacant spot on which his Grace had perhaps cast his eye. Looking to that sentiment, and to their prospects, he thought they would fail in their duty if they did not at the inauguration of another session drink to the great Council of the Empire under their noble friend the President. (Cheers.)

The Duke of MANCHESTER, in his reply, thanked the members for their reception of the toast, but said it alluded to what at present did not exist. He could at present only hope for the advent of that which he should hail with great pleasure. He could only hope





- Complete Treaty Signed, 8 May.
  - Prospective Value of the Three New Rules.
  - Present State of International Law.
  - Alteration made by New Rules.
  - American View of their own Conduct with Regard to Neutrality.
  - Sir Alexander Cockburn's Opinion.
  - Decision with Respect to the Fisheries.
- 

THERE is a class of questions, which, belonging emphatically to politics in the highest sense of the word, lie outside the range of party disputes, and are judged by all good citizens on grounds altogether separate from their party predilections. To this class belongs the treaty lately concluded with the United States of America.

I propose to submit to the Royal Colonial Institute a balance-sheet, showing on one side the profit, and on the other the loss, accruing from this Treaty to the people of Great Britain and of her Dependencies.

It cannot be wise, it cannot be patriotic, to exaggerate any advantages we may have obtained, or to extenuate concessions we have been obliged to make: we should try to strike an honest balance between the two. Allow me, having said so much by way of preface, to take the protocols of the conferences of the Joint High Commission as my text, and to make a running commentary on the various clauses of the Treaty.

The questions placed before the Joint High Commission were—

- (1.) The Fisheries.
- (2.) The Navigation of the St. Lawrence, and privilege of passing through the Canadian Canals.
- (3.) The Alabama Claims.
- (4.) Claims of British subjects arising out of the War, but having no reference to the Alabama Claims.
- (5.) The claims of the people of Canada on account of the Fenian raids.
- (6.) The revision of the Rules of Maritime Neutrality.

If we turn to the correspondence which preceded the appointment of the Joint High Commission, we shall see that the English Government did not at first propose to include the Alabama Claims among the matters to be referred to the Commission. Our Minister at Washington,\* Sir Edward Thornton, in his letter to Mr. Fish, with which the correspondence commenced, proposed that a Joint High Commission should be appointed, “to treat of and discuss the mode

of settling the different questions which have arisen out of the Fisheries, as well as those which affect the relations of the United States towards Her Majesty's possessions in North America."

This sentence, very cautiously worded, is obviously intended to mean the Canadian Claims for Fenian raids, and the disputes which had arisen respecting Canadian Fisheries; and it was these questions alone that the British Government was in January, 1871, prepared to discuss.

Mr. Fish, in his reply, shows plainly that this was the impression left upon his mind by Sir Edward Thornton's letter. He saw that a discussion of the Fenian Claims was by no means to be desired by the United States; he therefore evaded the attack, and while he agreed to the appointment of a Commission, he took occasion to add that the main subject in dispute between England and America was the Alabama Claims.\*

Sir Edward Thornton answered in effect—"Very well, we will agree that the Alabama Claims shall be discussed; but do not forget that it is part of the bargain that the Canadian grievances shall be adjudicated upon."† Mr. Fish saw his advantage: Sir Edward Thornton had been induced to treat the Alabama Claims as the principal subject to be submitted to the Commission. Mr. Fish was therefore careful to do the same. It was only parenthetically, at the end of his reply, that Mr. Fish says, "With reference to the *remainder* of your Note, the President desires me to say that *if there be other and further claims* of British subjects or of American citizens, . . . . he (the President) assents to the propriety of their reference to the same Commission."‡

Thus, at the very outset of the discussion, we were diverted from our purpose. We proposed a Commission to decide Canadian grievances, and it was straightway settled that the main subject of discussion should be the Alabama Claims; and, further, Mr. Fish successfully paved the way for a refusal on the part of America to discuss the Fenian Claims at all.§ No reply was sent to Mr. Fish, his view was taken for granted, and within a week Lord de Grey and Mr. Bernard were on board the Cunard steamer bound for New York, to deal as they best might with the diplomats of Washington, leaving Sir Stafford Northcote to follow by the next steamer.

I have insisted upon this point—the change of the subject originally proposed—because it is one of much interest to the Colonial Institute. The original subject proposed for consideration was a Canadian grievance. Far from obtaining satisfaction for that

\* 30 Jan. 1871.

† 1 Feb. 1871.

‡ 3 Feb. 1871.

§ 11 Feb. 1871.

grievance, it was not even discussed, and in the end Canada was called upon to pay the principal part of the price demanded for such advantages as were gained by England under the Treaty.

#### THE ALABAMA CLAIMS.

The history of the question which thus became the main topic of discussion by the Joint Commission will be fresh in the minds of every member of the Colonial Institute. The American Civil War broke out in 1861, and lasted four years. The victorious North and the conquered South had no sooner made up their quarrel and become once more the United States of America, than they cried loudly before the world that they had been aggrieved by England. The reality of the grievance was at first denied, and redress was somewhat haughtily refused, but as time wore on the attitude of refusal gave place to one of attention, and attention was succeeded by an intimation that we were willing to negotiate.\*

Successive British Ministries tried their hands at negotiation. A Treaty was concluded, which was known as the Clarendon-Johnson Treaty, but the American people indignantly refused to ratify it. Mr. Reverdy Johnson, then Minister of the United States at the English Court, was recalled, and the Treaty itself was rejected by the Senate with every mark of scorn. England having once changed her tone, quickly ran through the whole descending gamut from arrogance to the extreme of conciliation; and when the Embassy of Lord de Grey was despatched, the English people were heartily tired of the Alabama Claims, and were prepared to submit to great sacrifices rather than leave a matter so troublesome in abeyance any longer.

Perhaps Lord Derby was too severe in saying, as he did in the House of Lords, that "a mission so sent out, with such unusual pomp and ceremony, was bound, under penalty of making itself ridiculous, to conclude a Treaty of some sort."† Without going so far, the Treaty itself and the text of Lord Granville's Despatch clearly show the nature of the Instructions given to the High Commissioners.

From the first meeting of the High Commissioners it became apparent that all other matters referred to the Commission were considered by both parties subordinate in importance to the Alabama Claims.

The High Commissioners met on the 27th February, 1871, and sat almost daily until the 14th March, when they adjourned for

\* Lord Russell, 30 Aug. 1865.

† N. America, No. 3, 1871.

three weeks, in order to allow the British Commissioners to communicate with their Government on a question of the greatest importance ; it was as follows :—

Lord Granville, in his Instructions, had told the Commissioners that “ it would be desirable to take this opportunity to consider whether it might not be the interest of both Great Britain and the United States to lay down certain rules of international comity in regard to the obligations of maritime neutrality, not only to be acknowledged for observance in their future relations, but to be recommended for adoption to the other maritime Powers.” \*

The American Commissioners were not, however, satisfied with this concession. They insisted that certain new rules of International Law should be agreed to by both parties, and made retrospectively applicable to the facts in respect of the Alabama Claims. A demand so startling was necessarily referred to the English Cabinet. Events have proved that the results of the whole arbitration depended upon the decision arrived at by that body ; and, indeed, it is not easy to avoid the inference that the Cabinet, in acceding to the American demand, rather courted than endeavoured to avert an adverse decision of the Arbitrators. If, as is very generally supposed, the main object of the Commission was to invent a graceful pretext for terminating a wearisome dispute by a moderate money payment, the reason of the concession was sufficiently obvious, and, indeed, if that had been its only result, few Englishmen would have refused their assent to it. Be that as it may, on the 5th April, when the High Commission re-assembled, the plenipotentiaries were able to announce that Her Majesty’s Government would accept the new rules, and would agree that they should be retrospective in their action ; adding, by way of protest, that Her Majesty’s Government could not admit that the new rules correctly stated the principles of international law which were in force when the Alabama Claims arose.

The American negotiators had one more point to insist upon. They had obtained the postponement of the subject which was originally to have been the main subject of the Commission. They had obtained a Declaration that their new rules (which no one pretended to be in accordance with international law) should be held good international law both in the future and in the past ; it was now absolutely certain that by their aid arbitration would go against Great Britain. It only remained to reiterate their demand for an apology. Accordingly on the following day “ The American Commissioners, referring to the hope which they had

\* N. America, No. 3, 1871, p. 4.

expressed on the 8th March, inquired whether the British Commissioners were prepared to place upon record an expression of regret by Her Majesty's Government for the depredations committed by the vessels whose acts were now under discussion ; and the British Commissioners replied that they were authorised to express, in a friendly spirit, the regret felt by Her Majesty's Government for the escape under whatever circumstances of the '*Alabama*,' and other vessels from British ports, and for the depredations committed by those vessels." This apology was forthwith embodied in the Treaty, where it occupies the post of honour at the beginning of Article 1.\*

It is a disagreeable task to dwell upon this point. On the 8th March the British Commissioners stated that "Her Majesty's Government could not admit that Great Britain had failed to discharge towards the United States the duties imposed on her by the rules of international law, or that she was justly liable to make good to the United States the losses occasioned by the acts of cruisers to which the American Commissioners had referred."

Surely the position of England had not changed for the worse between the 8th March and the 13th April. If the refusal of an apology on the 8th March was right, it was wrong to make an apology on the 13th April.

A national expression of regret is an act of the gravest importance. If England had been clearly in the wrong, an expression of regret would have been consistent with her dignity ; but it has not hitherto been usual for nations of the highest rank to apologise for acts which they never committed. The same Englishman who offered the apology framed the British case : the case is an elaborate statement that England was in the right. It is hard to escape from this dilemma : either the apology was unnecessary, or the English case was a tissue of mis-statements. It is beside the question to say that the Award has proved us to be in the wrong—the Award did no such thing ; we were tried by the three new rules, and not by international law : the Geneva Arbitrators expressly said so.

I am aware that this matter presents itself in a different form to some minds. The destruction of American commerce, which undoubtedly took place during the war, is in fact a matter of regret to all Englishmen ; and it is said that the expression of a regret so generally felt could not be improper. We cannot, however, forget that the destruction of that commerce was the work of enemies with whom the United States were at war, and

\* N. America, No. 3, 1871, p. 10.

that the unfair complicity of England with those enemies was actually the very matter which was to be referred to arbitration. The past history of the question must also be borne in mind. It must be remembered that it had been persistently said in America that no settlement of the Alabama Claims would ever be satisfactory which did not include an ample apology from England. The way in which the American High Commissioners returned to the subject, when the main points had been decided according to their views, shows that mortification to the pride of England was the object aimed at.

**REFERRING TO CLAIMS BOTH OF BRITISH AND AMERICAN CITIZENS  
(NOT BEING ALABAMA CLAIMS).**

On the 15th April, two days after the conclusion of the Alabama Articles of the Treaty, the High Commission agreed upon the manner in which "other claims arising out of acts committed during the Civil War and not referable to the cruisers" should be treated. A Commission for the consideration of these claims was appointed, and it was agreed that the Convention of 1853 should be followed as a precedent. These Articles, from 12 to 17, do not call for any remark at present, except that the Fenian Claims, which would have here come in in logical sequence, were not brought forward by the British Commissioners.

**THE FISHERIES. ARTICLES 18 TO 25.**

The subject dealt with by these Articles has long been a matter of dispute. Fourteen years ago I brought it before the House of Commons. It had then been a matter of controversy for nearly 150 years—since the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713—and when the High Commission met at Washington, we were wrangling over it more fiercely than ever. Our quarrels used principally to be with the French: of late years they have been with the Americans.

We have already seen that when this Commission was proposed by Sir Edward Thornton to Mr. Fish, the larger question of the Alabama Claims was substituted for the original subject, and the Fisheries assumed in the minds of the Joint High Commission a position of secondary importance.\*

The matter in dispute is shortly this:—When Lord Elgin concluded the Reciprocity Treaty in 1854, the American fishermen obtained leave to fish in some parts of the British-American waters from which they had before been excluded by Treaty. For

several years they enjoyed this advantage, and naturally came to look upon it as a right. Everyone who has seen the rough fishermen of Connecticut, of Maine, of New Brunswick, and Newfoundland at their work, must know that they are a class of men with whom abstract rights would have very little weight, unless they were backed by physical force. The employment of physical force means quarrels and collision, which could not fail ultimately to produce bad blood, and possibly involve the Governments concerned in hostilities. The enjoyment of the Fisheries by the Americans under the Reciprocity Treaty was balanced by certain tariff concessions, of which British North America had the advantage. But when the fiscal necessities or the prejudices of the Americans caused them to put an end to the Reciprocity Treaty, their fishermen were deprived of a right of fishing to which they had become accustomed, and were compelled, as far as law could compel them, to content themselves with rights acquired under former Treaties. The disagreeable but almost inevitable consequence was that the Americans began to strain the Treaty of 1818, and to discover that under it they had rights which the British were by no means prepared to admit. Certain arrangements were made by Canada by which license to fish was granted to American vessels, but it was obvious that this could only be a temporary expedient. The matter was more pressing every year, and at last it became absolutely necessary to effect the settlement of a question which might at any moment involve the two nations in war. This was the condition of affairs in June, 1870—about a year before the appointment of the High Commission. The Canadian Government then despatched to England the Hon. Mr. Campbell, Postmaster-General of the Dominion, and leader of the Senate, in order to press on Her Majesty's Government the necessity of securing, with as little delay as possible, the restoration to Canada of the rights which she enjoyed prior to the Reciprocity Treaty. The Canadian Committee of Council, in writing to Lord Kimberley, say that they "cannot conceal their apprehension that if the citizens of the United States are any longer permitted, as they have been doing for the last four years, to fish in waters where, according to our interpretation of the Treaty of 1818, they are trespassers, it may be difficult to obtain an amicable solution of the point in dispute." Lord Kimberley at once promised that they would propose a joint British and American Commission, on which the Dominion should be represented, to settle the geographical limits of the exclusive fishing rights of Canada under the Treaty of 1818.

Before the Joint Commission commenced its labours, Lord

Kimberley wrote as follows to the Governor-General of Canada:—  
“As at present advised, Her Majesty’s Government are of opinion that the right of Canada to exclude the Americans from fishing in the waters within the limit of three marine miles of the Coast is beyond dispute, and can only be ceded for an adequate consideration. Should this take the form of a money payment, it appears to Her Majesty’s Government that such an arrangement would be more likely to work well than if any conditions were annexed to the exercise of the privilege of fishing within the Canadian waters. The presence of a considerable number of cruisers would always be necessary to secure the performance of such conditions, and the enforcement of penalties for the non-observance of them would be certain to lead to disputes with the United States.”\* The position taken up by Lord Kimberley was, as we see by this letter, a very intelligible one. He was of opinion that right was on the side of the Canadians, but that it was a right very difficult of assertion.

When the Joint Commission took up the subject of the Fisheries, the British Commissioners proposed that the Reciprocity Treaty of 5th June, 1854, should be restored. This proposal was peremptorily declined, and an American counter proposal was made, that the value of the inshore fisheries should be ascertained, and the right to use them in common with the British fishermen purchased by the United States. Failing all attempts to persuade the American Commissioners to modify their tariff arrangements, it was ultimately decided that free fish and fish oil were to be admitted free of duty in the American ports, and that a Commission was to be appointed to determine the amount, if any, to be paid by the Americans for joint proprietary rights in the inshore fisheries of Canada.

As soon as this arrangement was known in Canada, it produced great excitement. The Canadians pointed out that the cession of territorial rights involved in the Treaty had never been contemplated by Canada, and would never be conceded by her Legislature. They declared that even the widest American interpretation of the Treaty of 1818 would not have placed them in such a forlorn position as that which was absolutely accepted by the Treaty, and they plainly intimated that the clauses of the Treaty affecting Canada were too distasteful to the great body of the people to afford any ground of hope that they would be accepted. The Earl of Kimberley could only reply that, “looked at as a whole, Her Majesty’s Government considered the Treaty as beneficial to the

interests of the Dominion ; " and he contended that free fish and fish oil, together with a money payment, to be assessed by the Convention, would, in fact, be an equitable solution of the difficulty.

The real point however was, that however just the Canadian position might be, the British Government could not undertake to maintain it. As Lord Kimberley had previously said, on the 17th June, " the causes of the difficulty lay deeper than any question of the interpretation of Treaties, and the mere discussion of such points as the correct definition of Bays could not lead to a really friendly agreement with the United States ; " and again, on the 26th of February, 1871 : " The exclusion of American fishermen from resorting to Canadian ports, except for the purpose of shelter and of repairing damages therein, of purchasing wood and of obtaining water, might be warranted by the letter of the Treaty of 1818, and by the terms of the Imperial Act, 59 George III. cap. 38 ; but Her Majesty's Government feel bound to state that it is inconsistent with the general policy of the Empire."

In fact, to put the matter into plain language, the Imperial Government were constrained to appeal to the loyalty and self-devotion of the Canadians to sacrifice their wishes and their rights to the necessities of Imperial policy.

The Canadians nobly responded to the appeal. Whatever, as citizens of the great Empire to which the inhabitants of these islands and of the Dominion alike belong, we may think of the reasoning of Lord Kimberley (and I am bound to say that it is difficult altogether to withhold one's assent to it), it is impossible to look without admiration at the self-restraint exhibited by our Transatlantic fellow-subjects, and at the cheerful way in which they accept a heavy share of the burden imposed by our joint nationality.

But this was not the only sacrifice imposed upon the Canadians.

#### CANADIAN CLAIMS ON ACCOUNT OF THE FENIAN RAIDS.

It was not till the 26th April that the British Commissioners found themselves at liberty to bring before the High Commission the claims of the people of Canada for injuries suffered from the Fenian raids. The Americans having already obtained all they wanted, peremptorily refused to enter upon the subject. Upon this the British Commissioners referred the matter to their Government, and on the 3rd May the British Commissioners gave up the point.

It might not unnaturally be supposed that the claims thus easily

given up by the British Plenipotentiaries came within the scope of the new rules devised by the Americans, and applied at their instance to the conduct of England. It was but three weeks since the new rules had been solemnly embodied in the Treaty.\* Were the new principles of international law to be good only as against England, and not good as against the United States? A short survey of the facts will enable us to answer the question.

Several societies of Irishmen, based upon the sentiment of hostility to England, were formed in America. The earliest was called the "Irish Republican Union," but we need not notice any other until the "Fenian Brotherhood" was established at Chicago in November, 1865. The Chicago meeting was attended by 800 delegates representing "circles," including twelve from military and naval circles. At the second annual congress of this society the President declared that they were "virtually at war with England." In October of the same year Fenian Bonds were issued, and an "Irish Republic" was established at New York, with a President, Senators, a Secretary of the Treasury, a Secretary of War, and other officials.\*

As a measure of precaution against the constantly-expressed threats of this body, the Canadian Government were obliged to call out nine companies of Militia, and to station them on the Frontier.

Early in 1866, meetings were held at which it became evident that the Fenians were on the eve of some great aggression. War-like stores were purchased, and large contracts made. The American papers reported the proceedings at the meetings, and the *New York World* of March 5, 1866, concluded an article with the plain words: "If they really mean war, if, as is given out, they contemplate the invasion of Canada, this is a serious business, which challenges the thoughtful attention of all Irishmen and all American citizens." On the 7th March the Canadian Executive called out 10,000 Canadian Volunteers, but it was not till the end of May that the Fenian preparations were complete. On Friday, 1st June, a body of Fenians, between 800 and 900 strong, crossed the frontier from Buffalo to Fort Erie, and on the following day came into collision with the Canadian Volunteers from Fort Colborne. Reinforcements soon arrived to the assistance of the Canadians. Sixty-five prisoners were taken, and the remainder recrossed the Frontier, where they were taken prisoners, with O'Neill their leader, by the United States authorities. The stores of arms which the Fenians had provided were also seized by the Americans. Here was a hostile force fitted out on American soil

\* 18 April.

† British Counter Case, p. 40.

for the invasion of a friendly State. Their leader, with his stores and many of his men, were in the hands of the American authorities. What did they do? The President issued a proclamation against similar expeditions in future, but on the very day that the proclamation was issued, the Fenian leader, O'Neill, was released from custody, and before the end of the year, the arms and other warlike stores were restored by the Americans to the Fenians. In addition to this the House of Representatives passed resolutions urging the United States authorities to demand the release of the men who were taken by the Canadians, and to stop all prosecutions pending in the United States Courts against Fenians.

In this raid one officer and six privates of the Queen's Own Volunteer Rifles were killed, and four officers and twenty-seven men were wounded.

In 1866 a renewal of the attack was threatened, and a camp of Volunteers was formed in Canada at an expense of \$80,000. In 1867 the Fenians were engaged in promoting disturbances in England and Ireland; it was therefore not till 1870 that they were ready to undertake a new invasion. O'Neill was again at their head; arming and drilling went on openly in the United States; and so imminent was the danger that the Canadian Executive obtained leave to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, and to call out a force for the defence of the Frontier. The attack was made on two points at once, but the Fenians, who uniformly were as cowardly as they were mischievous, fled in disorder as soon as they were confronted. They crossed the American Frontier, and were taken by the United States authorities. Thirteen tons of arms are said to have been seized, and the prisoners were tried in the United States Courts and condemned. They all, however, two months later, received an unconditional pardon from the President.

Within a year after his release O'Neill made another raid across the Frontier, but was this time stopped by the United States troops. He received no punishment, as he was said not to have committed any overt act.

Thus in the four years preceding 1871 the Canadian Government was three times obliged to call out its troops. Besides maintaining camps for months at a time, there was a heavy expense to the country in pensions, gratuities, and payments of claims arising out of the raids, as well as a serious charge on the Treasury for summoning the Volunteers, and the hindrance to industry, especially in 1866, by disturbance of the country at a season of the year when agricultural pursuits were in full operation.

It was only natural that the Canadian Government should be

bitterly disappointed at the non-settlement of these claims.\* They pointed out that the Fenian organisation was still in full vigour, and that there was no reason to suppose that the American Government will do its duty better in the future than in the past. They state that Her Majesty's Government had never energetically pressed the Government of the United States to perform its duty ; " on the contrary," they say, " while in the opinion of the Government and of the entire people of Canada the Government of the United States neglected, till much too late, to take the necessary measures to prevent the Fenian invasion of 1870, Her Majesty's Government hastened to acknowledge by cable telegram the prompt action of the President, and to thank him for it."

To this Lord Kimberley's answer was that they had no choice, but either to abandon the Treaty or relinquish the claims ; the Americans declined even to discuss the question ; " and," writes Lord Kimberley, " when the choice lay between the settlement of all the other differences between the two countries on terms which Her Majesty's Government believed to be honourable to both, and beneficial alike to Canada and the rest of the Empire, and the frustration of all hope of bringing the negotiations to a satisfactory issue, they could not hesitate as to the course which it was their duty to take."

#### FREE NAVIGATION OF THE ST. LAWRENCE, OF THE CANADIAN AND AMERICAN CANALS, AND OF LAKE MICHIGAN.

The Fenian Claims were surrendered, as I said, on the 3rd May, but before that time the Articles 26 to 38 of the Treaty were under discussion. These Articles referred to the navigation of the St. Lawrence and of the Canadian and American canals which connect the great lakes with the sea. Failing to obtain the restoration of the Reciprocity Treaty (which the Americans refused on grounds which we cannot quarrel with, however much we may disagree with them), the Articles 26 to 38 call for no especial remark. There is, however, in the Protocols a paragraph which any one who is duly imbued with the traditional policy of American diplomacy may well regard with dismay.

" The British Commissioners stated that they regarded the concession of the navigation of Lake Michigan as an equivalent for the concession of the navigation of the St. Lawrence ; " and the Americans replied that in their opinion " the citizens of the United States could now justly claim to navigate the river St. Lawrence in its natural state, and they could not concede that the navigation

\* Enclosure in No. 8. C. April, 1872.

of Lake Michigan should be taken as an equivalent of that right." Now this is a new assumption altogether on the part of the Americans, as may be easily seen by the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854. Article 8 of that Treaty admitted certain products of Canada and the United States reciprocally free. Article 4 conceded on the part of the Americans the right to Great Britain to navigate Lake Michigan as long as the free navigation of the St. Lawrence should continue, and Great Britain on her part conceded the free navigation of the St. Lawrence. It was further decided that if Great Britain should suspend this privilege, the Americans should stop not only the navigation of Lake Michigan but the Free Trade Article No. 8 as well. Not only, then, in 1854 the exclusive right of Great Britain to navigate the St. Lawrence was *explicitly* acknowledged, but as that right was balanced against the navigation of Lake Michigan and the Free Trade Article No. 8, the British right of exclusive navigation was *implicitly* valued at a very high price.

The Article 26 of the Washington Treaty, therefore, ceding to the United States the joint right to navigate the St. Lawrence, with no other equivalent than the free navigation of three rivers in Alaska—which few persons have even so much as heard of—may fairly be put down on the debtor side of the account between the Treaty and the people of Great Britain.

The remaining Articles with regard to internal navigation do not call for special remark.

*Articles 84 to 42 (agreed to 22nd April).*

**THE SAN JUAN BOUNDARY.**

I now come to the San Juan Boundary. This matter has been for many years in dispute, and, as we all know, has unfortunately been settled against us by the Arbitrator appointed under the Treaty. But whether the decision be or be not satisfactory to us, it cannot be laid to the account of the Treaty now under discussion. The San Juan Water Boundary was agreed upon by the first Article of a Treaty made in June, 1846, but the British and American Commissioners appointed for its demarcation differed, and it was never decided. The decision of the dispute was proposed by Lord Russell as a fit subject for arbitration in 1859, but, owing to the Civil War, the negotiations were not brought to a conclusion, and it was not until 1869 that a convention was signed by Lord Clarendon and Mr. Reverdy Johnson for referring the matter to an arbitrator. That Treaty was, however, never ratified, and the true interpretation of the Treaty of 1846 still remained in dispute when the High Commissioners assembled at Washington.

The Treaty of 1846 defined the boundary on the West Coast as follows :—

“ The line shall be continued westward along the said 49th parallel of north latitude to the middle of the Channel which separates the Continent from Vancouver Island, and thence southerly through the middle of the said Channel and of Fuca Straits to the Pacific Ocean.”

Unfortunately, the “ middle ” of the said channel is filled by small islands, so that instead of one channel down the middle of which the boundary might run, there were several channels, neither of which could be called *the* channel, because there were other channels : and the channel which most nearly corresponded geographically to the words of the Treaty was obviously not *the* channel, for no navigator who had his choice ever used it. The plain fact was that the negotiators of the Treaty of 1846 had either imperfect maps or no maps at all, and their agreement could not be literally carried out.

The Americans claimed to have the line run through the Western or Haro Channel, which would give to them the Island of San Juan. The British contended that the possession of Vancouver Island carried with it the possession of the adjacent islands, and so claimed to have the Rosario Channel declared *the* channel under the Treaty. They also contended, with perfect accuracy, that the Haro Channel was not known at the time the Treaty was made ; therefore, the Rosario Channel was *the* channel under the Treaty.

The American negotiators led off with a bold shot—one whose magnificent audacity has really not been properly appreciated. They proposed to abrogate the whole of the Treaty in so far as it related to boundaries between the United States and British America, and re-arrange the boundary line which was in dispute before that Treaty was concluded.

Imagination pauses aghast before the magnificent spectacle : Over four thousand miles of coterminous frontier between Great Britain and the United States, without a landmark or a Treaty definition ! One involuntarily recalls the exclamation of President Polk, when he came into office in 1845, that if he had not been embarrassed by the offers of his predecessors he would, as he called it, “ have gone for the whole of Oregon.” Fancy an American President unembarrassed by former negotiations, and empowered to re-arrange with a Joint High Commission, such as lately sat in Washington, the whole boundary from the Atlantic to the Pacific !

The British Commissioners answered, as well they might, that the proposal to abrogate a Treaty was one of a serious character,

and that they had no instructions which would enable them to entertain it. It would appear that they did submit the matter to their Government, for it was not, as we learn from the protocol, till the Conference of the 20th March that they declined the proposal.

Several attempts were made to procure a settlement, but the Americans would be satisfied with none that did not give them the Haro Channel. They made one proposition, which, looking at it by the light of after events, we should have been wise to accept. It was that the Joint High Commission should recognise the Haro Channel as the channel intended by the Treaty of 15th June, 1846, with a mutual agreement that no fortifications should be erected by either party to obstruct or command it, and with proper provisions as to any existing proprietary rights of British subjects in the Island of San Juan. It was ultimately decided that the matter should be referred to arbitration.

Serious as must be the results to the Dominion of the Award given by the Emperor of Germany, it must, I think, be conceded that the fortune of the question was neither made nor marred by the Treaty of Washington. The High Commissioners did nothing more than refer the meaning of a former Treaty to arbitration.

When we remember that the alternative was to re-open the whole question of boundary between British America and the United States, we can hardly regret the decision of our Commissioners, and, indeed, it is impossible, without impugning the award given by the Emperor of Germany (which would not be consistent with the honour of this country, and ought not to be done by any of her citizens), to state in their full force all the reasons which justified a confident hope that the award would be in our favour. However, we have lost, and must acquiesce. Still the loss is another heavy item of that part of the cost of the Treaty which has fallen upon the Dominion of Canada. Articles 34 to 42, which have reference to this subject, were completed on the 22nd of April. The completed Treaty was signed on the 8th May.

Having pursued, in rapid review, the various Articles of the Treaty, it remains to estimate the value of the results obtained. Foremost among the advantages claimed for the Treaty is the renewal of a thorough good understanding with the United States. Every true Englishman must contemplate with satisfaction a result so advantageous to both parties. To some it will appear equivalent to a receipt in full for all concessions made under the Treaty; others will attach more importance to the fear that a policy

of concession such as we have uniformly pursued towards the Americans since the peace of 1814, may be more likely to induce further demands, than to be a continued source of good understanding. Both opinions are speculative, and I desire to confine myself to-night strictly to facts. I merely point out that opinions represent unknown quantities, which every man must fill up on the balance-sheet according to his own judgment.

The next important argument, that the new rules, as between us and America, are likely to be greatly in our favour in future years, demands a little more examination. It is said that Great Britain is at war a dozen times to the United States' once; that any agreement explaining and extending the obligations of neutrals, would be much more likely to tell in our favour than against us. That is true as far as it goes; or, rather, it would be true if it were in any degree probable that we should ever enjoy the advantages of the new rules. American diplomacy is not conciliatory, and no one, with the experience of the Washington Treaty before him, can suppose that if a future war should leave us with a new Alabama Claim against the United States, it would be treated in the spirit which our negotiators displayed at Washington. It has been abundantly proved that the traditions of American diplomacy in such cases has been invariably to refuse redress, and to assert to the fullest extent the rights of neutral commerce. Yet their new rules impose upon neutral commerce restrictions never heard of before, and, in fact, place neutrals in such a position that either a great portion of their trade will be crippled, or that they will unavoidably incur heavy damages to one or other of the belligerents. This is a position which has hitherto been strongly repudiated by the Americans, and it is difficult to believe that the propositions invented by them, when they were belligerents, would appear to them so just when applied against themselves as neutrals.

It must be remembered that the new rules are loosely worded. We have already, by our Counsel at Geneva, argued that the phrase "due diligence" means something quite distinct from the meaning we should have to affix to it in order to obtain an award if we quoted it in our favour, and no one can suppose that our own arguments would not be skilfully turned against us.

Again, the new rules have not the force of international law. At present they are in force only as between England and America. Those two nations undertook to bring them to the notice of other maritime powers, with a view to their adoption as part of international law, but they do not seem in a hurry to do so, and the

only foreign jurist, as far as I can remember, who has expressed any opinion upon them—I mean Count Beust, in the latest Austrian Red-book—recommends their determinate rejection, and devotes a long paper to prove that they are entirely preposterous.

The peculiar action of the three new rules may be easily seen if we examine where, in the late Geneva Arbitration, they hit us on points, which international law without their aid would have passed by.

Neutrality, under international law, is the position of a State which remains at peace with reference to two belligerent States, with both of which it remains in friendly relations. The neutral State is bound to help neither combatant either with money or material, and to prevent its territory from being made a base of military operations by either. We were held liable because we did not use "due diligence" to prevent the outfit and escape of the "*Alabama*". By international law we should have been held harmless. We should have discharged our international obligations by stopping the ship on receiving due evidence of her character. Such evidence not having been tendered, by international law we were blameless, even though the "*Alabama*" did escape.

If the new rules had been in force, it would have been our business to get evidence for ourselves, and as, for the purposes of arbitration, the new rules were in force, we were held liable accordingly.

The new rules only increase the responsibility of a neutral Government in its governmental capacity; the subjects of a neutral Government are in the same position as they were before the new rules. They owe no deference to international law as such; they need obey only their own municipal law. It was lawful for them to sell arms or to build ships before the war broke out, and the breaking out of war does not alter that right. They owe no allegiance to either belligerent, possibly they care about neither. They would as soon trade with the one as with the other, and the stoppage of such trade might ruin them. All they have to do, therefore, is to observe the law in their own country; it is the duty of that country to see that its laws are such as will enable it to perform its international obligations, and it is, further, the duty of that country to see that its subjects obey the laws so made. But such laws are in their nature only measures of police. Belligerents care nothing what may be the state of the law in a neutral country; the law may be sufficient or insufficient, that is nothing

to them, provided the requirements of international law are complied with. If those requirements are not complied with, the belligerent is justly aggrieved, and may demand reparation.

But although the subjects of a neutral may lawfully deal in articles contraband of war, they must do so at their own risk. The belligerent may capture such goods *in transitu* if he can, and the neutral merchant has no claim on his own Government for protection, or on the belligerent who captures his goods, for damages. War is, as regards a neutral, an invasion of his rights. If no war existed, the neutral might trade with whom he would. Any restriction imposed upon him in the interest of a belligerent is an injury to the neutral. In fact, as the American Chancellor, Kent, says, "The right of a neutral to transport, and that of a belligerent to seize, are conflicting rights, and neither party can charge the other with a criminal act."\*

There are, then, three classes of rights and duties:—

1. The duty of a neutral State to afford no assistance to a belligerent, and not to allow its territory to become a base of war-like operations.

2. The duty of a neutral subject to obey such laws as his Government may have framed to enable it to perform its international obligations.

3. The right of a belligerent Government to seize contraband of war *in transitu*, if he can.

Now let us go a step further. War being an accidental dislocation of the relations which ought to subsist between nations, and entailing perforce a restriction on neutral rights, all nations have been very chary of unnecessarily restricting those rights; in fact what are called belligerent rights have been conceded more as a necessary evil than from any abstract sympathy with them. Three short passages, all from American authorities, will prove not only the teaching of international law on this point, but (what is of more importance to our purpose just now) the construction which the Americans have put upon international law from the earliest times. The first is in 1793, a little after the declaration of American Independence; the second in 1862; and the third in 1863. A crowd of witnesses might be cited to fill up the interval with an uniform and unbroken tradition.

On the breaking out of the war between France and England in 1793, Mr. Jefferson, the American Secretary of State, thus writes:—

"Our citizens have been always free to make, vend, and export  
contraband to both." \* Kent's *Commentaries*, vol. i. p. 142.

arms. It is the constant occupation and livelihood of some of them. To suppress their callings, the only means perhaps of their subsistence, because a war exists in foreign and distant countries in which we have no concern, would scarcely be expected. It would be hard in principle and impossible in practice. The law of nations, therefore, respecting the rights of those at peace, does not require from them such an internal derangement of their occupations."

The second authority is Mr. Seward, who, when complaint was made that the French were allowed to purchase horses and mules in the United States for the war in Mexico, writes to maintain what he calls the settled and traditional policy of the United States. He says that if the Mexicans were allowed to dictate to a neutral State what commerce should be allowed, all neutral commerce would be destroyed. If Mexico, he says, were allowed to do this, "every other nation which is at war would have a similar right, and every other commercial nation would be bound to respect it as much as the United States. Commerce in that case instead of being free or independent, would exist only at the caprice of war."

The third is Mr. Adams, one of the Geneva arbitrators, who, writing to Lord Russell on the 6th of April, 1863, states as follows:—

"The sale and transfer by a neutral of arms, of munitions of war, and even of vessels of war, to a belligerent country, not subject to blockade at the time, as a purely commercial transaction, is decided by these authorities not to be unlawful. They go not a step further, and precisely to that extent I have myself taken no exception to the doctrine."

We thus see that the law of nations treats the sale and purchase of contraband of war as a matter entirely conventional, and not arising out of any of the obligations of neutrality. Ships, like other articles contraband of war, may be therefore built and sold in the neutral's own ports; but they must not be armed or fitted for war there, because, if the ship be sent to sea with officers and a fighting crew for the purpose of immediate warfare, the transaction ceases to be one of mere commerce, and assumes the form of a hostile expedition sent forth from the territory of the neutral. Such an expedition is plainly a violation of neutrality, according to international law, and one which the neutral Government is bound to do its best to prevent.

The case is not altered if the vessel is sent out without its armament or its war crew, and these are put on board at some place

beyond the jurisdiction of the neutral. The ship, armament, and crew, form part of one enterprise and undertaking.

Sir Alexander Cockburn quotes with approval an article in the *American Law Review*, which contains the following passage:—

“ It was not because Messrs. Laird sold a war-ship to the Confederates that we have a claim against England for a breach of international law; it was because collateral arrangements for completing the equipment and armament of the ship so sold, by placing on board officers and crew, guns and provisions, rendered the entire proceeding, in fact, the inception of a hostile undertaking from the confines of a neutral territory.” Such being the case under the old rules of international law, how is the case altered by the new rules?

The alteration appears to be one of degree rather than of character. No absolutely new obligation is imposed by the new rules; we should have been liable under the old rules if it could be shown that we knew of the building, equipment, and destination of a ship of war in our ports; that is, that we had such legal evidence of the fact as to enable us legally to stop such vessel. The new rules imposed no more, except in one respect; formerly the building, the equipping, and the sale of a vessel would have been no breach of neutrality, provided we had stopped the escape of the vessel on receiving legal evidence of its destination. By the new rules, we were bound to use due diligence to prevent even the equipment of such a vessel; and it further appears that the term due diligence was held by the arbitrators to transfer the *onus probandi* which formerly lay upon the shoulders of the belligerent who considered himself aggrieved, to those of the neutral Government.

Perhaps lawyers would object to my definition, but it seems to me to amount to this:—Formerly the presumption of international law was in favour of the neutral, now it is to be in favour of the belligerent.

In any future war, therefore, we may call on the United States to use “ due diligence to prevent the fitting out, arming, or equipping, within its jurisdiction, of any vessel,” &c.

That is to be our gain obtained under the new rules.

But the Americans declare that they have, from the very beginning, given to the world an example of most strict adherence to the principles now embodied in the Treaty.

“ Qualis ab incepto talis ad finem,” they write; “ with consistency unwavering, and at whatever hazard of domestic or foreign inconvenience, even if it were friendly powers like France and Great Britain with which we were brought into conten-

tion, the United States have steadily adhered to principles of international neutrality; and we may well, therefore, demand the observance of those principles, or reparation for their non-observance on the part of Great Britain."\* Such is the American view of their own conduct: but it follows that they have really observed international neutrality as strictly as is here alleged, they can do no more under the new rules; and the new rules will do us no good. But there are two opinions as to the conduct of the Americans. Sir Alexander Cockburn thus sums up an exhaustive review of the conduct of the Americans in the cases of Spain, of Portugal, of Cuba, of Mexico, of Central America, and of the Fenians in Canada, from 1794 to 1872:—

" The story of these expeditions, as told in a great part in the proclamations of the different Presidents, is pretty much the same. Some scheme of annexation, or other form of invasion is started, public meetings of sympathisers are held, a reckless soldier of fortune is selected for chief, funds are raised by bonds issued on the security of the public lands of the country which it is proposed to conquer, arms are collected, recruits advertised for under some transparent verbal concealment of the object, and, at length a certain number of men are got together and embark, or otherwise set forth. If the country against which the attack is directed is feeble and unprepared, scenes of outrage and bloodshed follow until the marauders are driven to the coast, where they find refuge on board American vessels (in some cases it has been on board ships of war), and return to the protection of the United States to prepare a fresh attack. If the country is able vigorously to repel them, as in the case of the Fenian raids, they content themselves with a demonstration on the frontier, seek at once an asylum, are disarmed, and the ringleaders perhaps tried. Those who are convicted are almost certain of an immediate pardon. After an interval the arms are restored, and unless the scheme has been so discredited by failure as to be incapable of revival, preparations are forthwith recommenced for another attempt, and everything goes on as before."

If in the face of facts like these, which we have been able to-night to verify as regards the Fenian raids, the Americans can contend that the new rules only embody the maxims upon which the United States have habitually acted, does it not seem rather sanguine to imagine that the new rules will be practically of much use to us? Even as I write, the newspapers of the day furnish yet another instance of the manner in which citizens of the United

\* United States' Argument, p. 94.

States construe international obligations. We read in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of Jan. 17: "The New York papers of yesterday state that the filibustering steamer '*Edgar Stuart*' has landed at Sino, in Cuba, large quantities of arms and ammunition, as well as sixty volunteers." It is not pretended that these marauders have any countenance from the Government: no such countenance was given in the cases cited by Chief Justice Cockburn. But if former precedents be followed, the marauders will, after scenes of outrage and bloodshed, be driven back to the coast, or to their own country, where the ringleaders will perhaps be tried, but will most certainly be pardoned. The words of Lord Chief Justice Cockburn will probably be again justified by the facts. But at any rate it is hard to agree with the sentence I have quoted from the United States' Argument, that "with consistency unwavering, and at whatever hazard of domestic or foreign inconvenience, the United States have steadily adhered to principles of international neutrality."

With regard to the Fisheries, we have without doubt made a concession: the plain truth is this—right is on the side of the English, that is, right by Treaty. The Americans can be excluded, as the Canadians maintain they ought to be, if only there were force constantly available to do it. But the persons upon whom practically it devolves to assert American rights—I mean the fishermen—care very little for rights, and public opinion in America would back them up if the assertion of their pretensions involved their Government in war. We, rightly or wrongly, shrink from war in such a cause. It is fair to say that the Americans could not concede on the subject of the fisheries; if they had conceded, their fishermen would have infringed the Treaty by common consent, and public opinion would not back up their Government in punishing them.

I now submit the balance-sheet to your consideration. It cannot be wise nor patriotic to exaggerate either the advantages we have obtained, or the concessions we have been obliged to make; I have earnestly tried to estimate both impartially. Different minds will fill up with various amounts the blanks which I have left. I have honestly tried to state facts, leaving it to others to draw conclusions.

## Balance Sheet of the

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1. Cash £3,500,000 .....		1. Renewed and increased amity with the United States
2. National Expression of Regret .....		of America .....
3. Canadian Loan £2,500,000 (guaranteed) .....		2. Three new Rules of International Law .....
4. Settlement of Claims arising out of the War .....		3. Disappearance of Alabama Claims .....
5. To cessation of Territorial Rights (Fisheries) in perpetuity .....		4. Settlement of Claims arising out of the War .....
6. To cessation in perpetuity of joint navigation of the		5. Cash Payment (to be settled by Commission) for cessation
St. Lawrence .....		of Territorial Rights .....
7. To cessation of Fenian Claims .....		6. Ten Years' Navigation of Lake Michigan .....
		7. Ten Years' Fishery Rights on the Coast of the United
		States of America .....
		8. Navigation of certain American Canals .....

## DISCUSSION.

The Noble CHAIRMAN, immediately after the reading of the paper, said : I am sure when it becomes my duty at the end of the discussion that may follow this paper, I shall be allowed by you to express—what I certainly feel very strongly myself—our gratitude as an Institution to Lord Bury for the extremely able paper which he has just read—(cheers)—to give him credit for the pains he has evidently taken in its preparation, and to admire and praise—not to envy, because I think we all feel the same—the patriotic sentiments which evidently inspired him when he composed it. (Renewed cheering.) Before the discussion commences, I wish to say a word of caution to those who may wish to take part in it. You are aware that it is one of our rules that no paper shall be read tending to give to the Institute a party character. I think Lord Bury, in a most difficult and delicate handling of a most difficult and delicate question, has excellently and ingeniously avoided giving to it a tone of party character. In this Institution, where we disavow party politics, if we could be at all cognisant of the party feelings of individuals, we should suppose probably that his sentiments were in favour of those who negotiated and arranged this Washington Treaty. We certainly cannot accuse him of exercising any partiality in their favour. I think he seems to have referred to the bearings of the Treaty in the interests of this country—in which I include the Colonies—without being prejudiced by the feelings of political partisanship. (Hear, hear.) I hope, therefore, that any one who may take part in the discussion will follow his good example, and avoid any partisan expressions, and especially personal allusions. Before the discussion commences, perhaps I may be allowed to state that almost the only point in which I do not entirely, thoroughly, and cordially agree with Lord Bury is his statement that the Washington Treaty did not influence the decision on the San Juan boundary. I think I am right in stating that the Treaty agreed to refer to the arbitrator, the Emperor of Germany, the choice of one of two channels—the Haro and Rosario. In the original Treaty of 1866 no such limit was defined, and I think in the decision of the Emperor of Germany you may read between the lines a sort of hint that if he had not been limited to the choice of one of these two channels, he would have chosen some other line of frontier. (Hear, hear.) In that respect I think the Washington Treaty does not deserve the praise which Lord Bury has given it. I believe that if the arbitrator had been left to decide upon what was described by the original Treaty,

it is quite as likely as not that we should have retained the island of San Juan. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) That is the only remark I have to make as to a difference of opinion with Lord Bury ; the remainder of his paper I entirely agree with. Gentlemen, I hope with your sanction to give to Lord Bury the thanks and admiration of the Institute for the paper he has brought forward.

**Lord Bury :** Perhaps His Grace would allow me to explain that one point. The contention was, on the part of the Americans, that the channel under the Treaty of 1846 was the Haro channel ; the English contention was that the channel under the Treaty was the Rosario channel. It was agreed to refer to the German Emperor the question, whether the Rosario or Haro channel was the channel under the true interpretation of the Treaty of 1846. It was distinctly brought before the High Joint Commission, and formed the sole question to be decided by the Emperor of Germany. It would have been impossible for him to have arrived at any other decision.

**His Grace the Duke of MANCHESTER :** I think there are two meanings to the word "channel." The English Channel certainly includes the whole space between—if not Portsmouth—certainly the Isle of Wight and the coast of France, and that includes several islands. Now, if you were asked to draw a line to define the centre of the English Channel, you would give the islands of Guernsey and Jersey as being on the French side, speaking now of the channel of navigation. I think there are two definitions of the word "channel" : one a geographical expression—a portion of sea between two islands of land ; the other a channel of navigation ; and I think the Treaty of 1846 did not define whether it was a channel of navigation or a portion of sea between two islands. That being the case, it was certainly open to the arbitrator, if he had not been prohibited by the Treaty of Washington, to say whether the Channel meant a geographical channel or merely a channel of navigation. (Hear, hear.)

The Hon. Mr. TOBIN, of Newfoundland, said he wished to take exception to some of the author's remarks on the Fishery question. If his Grace would look over the correspondence between the two countries, he would find that the fishery disputes were annual disputes ; they were nothing new. The "Alabama" business was the main subject at issue, and the fishery disputes were only brought in as collateral branches of the question to be settled. One Colonist only was placed upon the Commission. The principal question for him and the rest of the Commissioners to deal with was the "Alabama" case—not the fisheries. He was convinced of this. Again,

if his Grace would turn over the correspondence he would find that the Canadian Government required that the disputes were asked to be settled by Colonial Commissioners. But, despite that wish, an Imperial Commission went to Washington, and, as his Grace had stated, met on a certain day to discuss the question of fisheries. The British Commissioners required reciprocity with America. America, conveniently we were told, would not agree to reciprocity, but they offered instead free trade in fish, fish oils, salt, and coals. That was a very fair offer on the part of the United States, but the British Commissioners refused it. What did they do? They considered that the price of the fisheries should not be free fish and free coal and free salt, but fish alone. Now, he (the speaker) would like to know why the offer of America was not accepted as a whole. If his Grace would look over the correspondence between the Canadian Government and the Earl of Kimberley, he would see the bitter remarks made by that Government on the subject. He (the speaker) maintained that the whole affair was a disgrace to Imperial diplomacy.

Lieutenant FORTESCUE, who was for some time commander of the troops on the Island of San Juan, on being called upon to address the meeting, said he felt it very presumptuous of him to offer any observations after what Lord Bury had said; but, having been quartered on the island for some time, perhaps he might be allowed to say a few words on the island itself. He said it might not be generally known that what was called the Island of San Juan was not the San Juan Island itself, but several islands, thirty or forty in number, of various sizes, San Juan being the largest—dimensions, thirty miles long and five miles broad. The lands were of no value, the soil was bad, and there was little or nothing to be got out of them. The "Henry Island," a few miles to the north of San Juan, was a little better favoured by Providence. At New Westminster, close to the Henry Island, the whole of our communication could be stopped by the Americans placing a fortification there. As the Americans already had an idea of carrying out such a project, and of allowing freighted ships drawing more than ten feet of water to pass only within a certain range of their proposed fort, the Henry Island was the most important one of the whole group. Referring more particularly to Lord Bury's paper, the speaker said the Rosario Channel was the only one known in 1846. The Douglas Channel and Haro Channel were found out afterwards, and in 1857 Mr. Cameron was invited to settle the dispute by making either one of these two channels the boundary, but he refused.

Lieutenant-Colonel DENISON, of the Canadian Rifles, said he was very glad to have an opportunity of addressing an assembly of people in London, in reference to a question that was of the greatest interest to him as a Canadian. There was no doubt that the Washington Treaty had been a matter in which the Canadian people were most deeply interested, and one in which their Imperial right had been to a certain extent sacrificed. (Hear, hear.) He would be unable to go fully into the question, but he would enter into the subject as lengthily as possible. He felt that he was not only in the presence of a number of distinguished Colonists, but also in the presence of a large number of the most distinguished men belonging to the heart of the Empire, whose own hearts beat warmly for Colonial connection. (Cheers.) He wished his fellow-countrymen present to understand that the Canadians looked upon their connection with Great Britain with a certain amount of sentiment. It was their wish and desire to be Royalists, and he stood there to-night as a descendant of the United Empire loyalists, who fought for seven years to preserve British connection in the Thirteen Colonies, and who at the close of the campaign abandoned everything and carried thorough British feelings and British principles into the wilderness of Canada. (Applause.) He had taken this opportunity of putting a few questions fairly before the British public, because he felt that the great difficulty had always been that the people of England had never properly understood the Yankees, nor had they ever understood the feelings of their fellow-subjects who lived on the British-American Continent. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Referring to the Joint High Commission, he said it was well known that Sir John Macdonald was the Imperial representative on that board. Had Sir John gone to Washington alone he believed that he would have made a better Treaty, but having to fight against nine others, five Yankees and four Englishmen, the odds were too great against him. As it was he had to deal with Englishmen who went to America determined to make concessions to the Yankees, and all the ability of Sir John could not stop it. Now the people of the United States—and he wished to put this clearly before the meeting—had a game which was very popular amongst them; which was played a great deal, and which had been carefully and exquisitely described; he meant the beautiful but uncertain game of “bluff-poker.” (Laughter.) The great point in it was that the man who had the greatest “bluff” about him won the game. Now the Americans brought that into politics, and they had “bluffed” England every time they tried to negotiate with them, because the English believed what they said. (Laughter.)

and hear, hear.) When the Yankees "bluffed" war, the English said, "My gracious! we shall have to give them something"—(laughter),—and they did so because they were afraid of war. Now, if England had not agreed to that sort of thing, but had come down upon them and said, "No, we mean to fight," the Yankees would have had all the "bluff" taken out of them at once. England was not frightened of Russia when she came within a thousand miles of India, and she was four times the size of the United States. Why, then, he asked, should England give up the rights of Canada, when it was well known the Americans were only "bluffing" us? Wherever he could get up among Englishmen, he was determined to expose their humbug, for such it was and nothing else. There was another point in connection with the Treaty he might refer to, and that point was probably the most serious and important one of all so far as we were concerned. We had got—or we had—the finest fisheries in the world. What was the duty of a young country striving to build up her power? It was to nurse those fisheries—(hear, hear)—to let the Canadian know that he had the advantage of fishing in waters that no other country could come to. The United States in time would have had to buy their fish from them, no matter what the duty. Had this been so, we should have had the whole of the coast of Nova Scotia swarming with a population of British people true to the Empire, and knowing that so long as they were true to the Empire they had advantages which no other people possessed. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Now, how was it? The Yankee could come and float off our shores by Treaty right; we could not say a word. What was our advantage? We got free entry into the markets of the United States. How was it now? At the present time the United States were agitating to put on a bounty on all fish caught by their fishermen. Supposing the Canadian caught his 100 barrels of fish, and went into market side by side with the Yankee, and that the Yankee got a bounty and the Canadian none, what would be the result? The loyal Canadian would find that by waiving his allegiance he would be able to fish equally as well in the United States, and the chances were he would claim American protection instead of English. He (the speaker) considered that this was the worst point in the Treaty, because if we wanted to make Canada a great country, it could only be done by making each inhabitant as loyal as possible. (Hear, hear.) In conclusion, he would say he for one, as an Ontario man—and he knew he spoke the opinion of others—did not approve of our country asking for any guarantee for any bonds as an award for

the Fenian raids. (Hear, hear.) He thought Canada could afford to pay for the Fenian raids—anyway he would not ask this country to pay them. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

The noble CHAIRMAN said he was sure the meeting would be gratified to hear the patriotic sentiments of the representative of 700,000 people of Canada. There were several other gentlemen present who wished to speak on the subject, but as the usual time for closing had already been overstepped, he thought it would be better to adjourn.

The discussion was then adjourned until Tuesday, the 4th of February.

AN Ordinary General Meeting of the Institute was held at the Theatre of the Society of Arts, on Tuesday, 4th February, 1873, his Grace the Duke of MANCHESTER, President, in the Chair.

The adjourned discussion of Lord BURY's Paper, "Balance Sheet of the Washington Treaty of 1872," was opened by Mr. C. D. COLLET, who said he should begin where Lord Bury had left off, at the 26th article of the Treaty of Washington, which granted us the free navigation of three rivers which nobody had ever heard of. The navigation of these rivers, of which the principal was the Stickeen, was ours already by the Treaty of 1825, by which we ceded 300 miles of coast to Russia. The article was therefore a pretence. President Grant had recommended in his message of December last the appointment of a joint commission to determine the line of boundary between "our territory of Alaska and the coterminous possessions of Great Britain." A boundary dispute had for many years been prepared in that quarter, and it would be contrary to all precedent if the result were not first an unseemly quarrel, and then an unseemly surrender on our part. In 1821 the Emperor of Russia issued a ukase declaring the North Pacific a close sea. When this ukase reached London and Washington, the Governments of England and the United States took it into serious consideration, and entered separately into treaties with Russia, which declared the sea to be open. In April, 1824, the American Treaty was signed, and by it each party bound itself to make no settlements, Russia to the south, the United States to the north, of 54 deg. 40 min. north latitude. The English Treaty was signed at St. Petersburg in February of the next year, and this also declared the North Pacific to be an open sea, but it also defined the boundary between the two States as follows:— "Commencing from the southernmost point of the Island called Prince of Wales' Island, which point lies in the parallel of 54 deg. 40 min. north latitude, and between 181 deg. and 183 deg. west longitude (meridian of Greenwich), the said line shall extend to the north, along the channel called Portland Channel, as far as the point of the Continent where it strikes 56 deg. north latitude; from the last-mentioned point the line of demarcation shall follow the

summit of the mountains situated parallel to the coast, as far as the point of intersection of 141 deg. west longitude (of the same meridian); and, finally, from the said point of intersection, the said meridian line of 141 deg. in its prolongation as far as the Frozen Ocean, shall form the limit between the Russian and British possessions on the Continent of America to the north-west." One of the articles explained that Prince of Wales' Island was to belong wholly to Russia, and that the strip of coast thus ceded to Russia, extending to about 300 miles in length, was never to extend more than 10 marine leagues from the coast, nor to go beyond the tops of the chain of mountains which was often still nearer the sea. The English were to have the free navigation of the rivers which crossed this strip of land from their own territory to the sea. But when the Hudson's Bay Company sent an expedition up the Stickeen, the Russians intercepted it. The Hudson's Bay Company got no more redress from Lord Palmerston for this outrage that Mr. Bell got from him for the seizure of the "*Vixen*" on the coast of Circassia. The Company was obliged to come to an understanding with Russia. In 1889 the Russian Company, which managed Russian America, gave them a lease of it, for which the English Company paid rent. The Russian territory, where it abuts on the British, is always at least as high as 56 deg. north latitude; but in 1857 Sir George Simpson, Governor of Hudson's Bay, in Commons, described the territory leased by the Company as beginning near Fort Simpson, in latitude 54 deg. Now the fact was that in this transaction this Governor had recognised as Russian territory that which was really English, and had thus endangered the future safe navigation of Simpson's River. The mistake was pointed out by the St. Pancras Foreign Affairs Committee, and the attention of the Colonial-office was directed to it, but to no purpose. The Committee came to the conclusion that while they hoped that the land south of Simpson's River (in which Fort Simpson is situated) might be considered as safe, as it had been included by act of Parliament in the new Colony of British Columbia, the same could not be said of the land between Simpson's River and Portland Channel. They declared their conviction that the Hudson's Bay Company had, so far as their agreement with the Hudson's Bay Company could affect it, made a sacrifice of British territory. In 1867 the whole of Russian America was sold to the United States, including of course the strip of coast which the Hudson's Bay Company rented from Russia, and the ambiguity of the lease is now a weapon transferred from Russia to the United States. When, in 1867, the

United States purchased Russian America, they refused to permit the English to navigate the Stickeen, and compelled their ships to clear at Sittra. The Colonial Office on being applied to replied that the obligations contracted by Russia, to give us the free navigation of the river, did not devolve on the United States! The coast ceded by England to Russia and now sold by Russia to the United States, Mr. Collet explained, is the whole coast of the British territory north of British Columbia, with the sole exception of the tongue of land between Portland Channel and the mouth of Simpson's River. If this tongue of land were ceded to the United States, they would command the navigation of that river. This tongue of land ceded to Russia by the Hudson's Bay Company was, in fact, all that remained of the coast of our northern territory. But it was still English *de jure*, and it was still in English possession. Measures must be taken, at any rate, to prevent the British Government from surrendering that which is unquestionably ours, and which we were bound to retain, if it were only for that "Dominion of Canada" which we were trying to cast off, and which ought not to be deprived by us at the same time of its means of intercommunication and defence. (Applause.) It was quite possible, by public attention being directed to it, to prevent its surrender, and of the importance of this tongue of land there could be no question, commanding as it does our communication with a vast extent of territory, which, but for that communication, would be practically lost to us and abandoned. (Cheers.)

The San Juan quarrel was only another part of the attempt to cut us off from the Pacific; it was an offset from the dispute about the Oregon Territory, as that was part of the whole question of boundary between Great Britain and the United States, as yet only partly settled. The Treaty of 1846 disposed of the whole question of boundary in its first article:—"From the point on the 49th parallel of north latitude, where the boundary laid down in existing treaties and conventions between Great Britain and the United States terminates, the line of boundary between the territories of Her Britannic Majesty and those of the United States shall be continued westward along the said 49th parallel of north latitude to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island, and thence southerly through the middle of the said channel, and of Fuca's Straits to the Pacific Ocean; provided, however, that the navigation of the whole of the said channel and straits south of the 49th parallel of north latitude remain free and open to both parties." The Treaty of 1846 did not state that the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island

is intersected by islands, but those who drew up the treaty could not have been ignorant of the fact, as before the date of its signature Dr. Travers Twiss had published "The Oregon Question Examined," which contained a map showing the islands. The Treaty showed distinctly what line of a channel it meant. It said not the deepest channel, nor the most frequented, nor the best inner channel, but the channel which separated the Continent from Vancouver Island; that is, the whole of the channel between the two.

The Treaty of 1846 was based on two points—the extension of the 49th parallel to the sea, and the leaving of Vancouver's Island entire to Great Britain. So far, therefore, as the spirit of the treaty was concerned, it was clear that the only ground on which Great Britain could claim any of the intervening islands must be that they were so close to Vancouver's Island that they might be considered as belonging to it. It would be rather a strained construction which should predicate this of San Juan, and to include Orcas and Lopez Island in this category would be absurd. It is only the letter of the treaty, "the middle of the channel," that gives San Juan to Great Britain. This clear and unmistakable title the British Government had wilfully and of set purpose thrown away. The Treaty was signed on the 15th of June, 1846, under the direction of Lord Aberdeen, then Foreign Secretary. But in July, 1847, he was succeeded by Lord Palmerston, to whom fell the interpretation of the treaty which his predecessor had negotiated. In January, 1848, Sir John Crampton, then British Minister at Washington, by direction of Lord Palmerston, wrote a letter to Mr. Buchanan, in which he proposed the Rosario Strait as the channel mentioned in the treaty, although it was scarcely possible that he should not have known that when the treaty was accepted in the Senate it was supposed that the boundary would go through the Haro Channel, which had been claimed by Mr. Benton. Sir J. Crampton thought it necessary to apologise for the evident unfairness of the construction he had given to the treaty. "The main channel marked in Vancouver's chart," he said, "is indeed somewhat nearer to the continent than to Vancouver's Island, and its adoption would leave on the British side of the line rather more of those small islets, with which that part of the gulf is studded, than would remain on the American side. But these islets are of little or no value, and the only large and valuable island belonging to the group—namely, that called Whidbey's—would, of course, belong to the United States." This paragraph was in itself a condemnation of the whole course adopted

by Great Britain. Another step was taken when, at the close of 1856, Lord Clarendon sent Captain Prevost to meet the American Commissioner, and to insist on the Rosario Strait as the boundary. Lord Clarendon in his instructions said that any question as to which channel was to be adopted as the true line of boundary indicated by the treaty could only arise when there was more than one channel which might be supposed to answer the description of the treaty. But neither the Rosario nor the Haro Channel answered that description. The terms of the treaty could only be fulfilled by a third strait, and that was the Douglas Channel. Then came Lord Russell, who at length said that the Douglas Channel was the middle channel, and by his advocacy of that channel Lord Russell destroyed the British claim to the Rosario Strait, whilst by afterwards reserving his claim to the Rosario Strait he extinguished the Douglas Channel. At last Lord Stanley proposed that the whole matter be referred to arbitration. But when the Commissioners went to Washington, they went back to the old proposal of the Rosario Strait, and then proposed the Douglas Channel as a compromise; so that when they asked that the King of Prussia should decide what channel was meant in consonance with the treaty, the Americans refused, saying that they wanted a decision, not a compromise. If they had demanded the Douglas Channel as the utmost limit of their right, this could not have been said, and the decision would have been in our favour. Thus, Lord Palmerston, though dead, carried out his three objects, which were :

1. A twenty-five years' quarrel with the United States.
2. The loss of the island of San Juan to Great Britain.
3. That San Juan should be fortified against us by the United States.

Having gone over the other leading steps in the negotiations, Mr. Collet referred to the Geneva Arbitration. He left the Government and the Commissioners on the horns of the dilemma on which Lord Bury had impaled them. If, as the Government contended, we had done no wrong, no apology was due. If an apology was due, and he (Mr. Collet) thought it *was* due, the Government should have applied to Parliament to open a Court, and to furnish the money to adjudge and pay what reparation was due, not to the United States Government, but to the individuals injured. The so-called Arbitration at Geneva was not an Arbitration but a Conference, like those to which England had too often been a party, and the object of which was to dismember the Ottoman Empire. He was glad to see Lord Bury and his Grace the President of the

Colonial Institute, members respectively of the two Houses of Parliament, and also of Her Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council, in which the Treaty of Washington ought to have been thoroughly discussed *before* it was negotiated, coming before their fellow-subjects to say in ancient phrase that they did not despair of the republic; or, in modern language, that they protested against the dismemberment of the Empire. (Cheers.)

Major Poore and Mr. ARTHUR MILLS were to have spoken on the subject, but after the elaborate and pointed speech of Mr. Collet, they thought any remarks from them would be but mere surplusage.

Colonel MILLINGTON SYNGE said it was quite evident on the occasion of the last meeting that the noble Chairman rightly appreciated the feeling of the Fellows of the Institute, and of the guests present, in expressing the admiration which the handling of the theme brought before the meeting by the noble Viscount commanded. Lord Bury did, to his (the speaker's) thinking, something more than present a most able and interesting criticism on an important subject; he gave not only a balance-sheet of a particular matter, which had been the subject of negotiation, but he added, and presented with the utmost happiness of execution, an example how to elevate the most difficult theme—the contracting influences of partisanship. (Hear, hear.) The noble Lord had thus done a great service to the Institute, and with the consent of the meeting he (the speaker) would like to give his own views of that service. Surely in the abstract no greater difficulty could present itself in the political system under which we exist than the disincumbrance from any question of real interest of the spirit of partnership, and it could not be denied that the system we had constructed or inherited debased every question of interest into a test of factional force. (Hear, hear.) And yet, to be of any service, the problem this Institute had to solve and escape from was to treat of every question that could most deeply move the heart, and so engender the fierceness of passion without any display of passion, and without the spirit of partisanship. Lord Bury would have left it on the records of the Colonial Institute that this was possible, and that they were not straining after a chimera. When this should have been obtained he hoped they would find they could combat the attacks, paralyse the wiles, and live down the sneers of a journal unswervingly hostile to every object they had taken in hand, by each and every member showing that he could tread in the footsteps of self-abnegation, as given to the Institute on the present occasion by the noble Lord. Forasmuch as he saw on every occasion that

served to touch the better part of our being, that party spirit had always to be banished, he longed for the day to come when the interests of the community should take such hold on those entrusted with their protection, that party spirit should be numbered with the evil spirits that had long since been condemned. (Cheers.) Passing to the immediate subject which had been so ably and passionately brought before them, he said there were two prominent salient points in connection with the Washington negotiations that arrested attention. The one was that best known as the "*Alabama*" Claims; the other as the San Juan Award. Comment on these was quite unnecessary; indeed, he inclined to the opinion that advocacy of a cause often diminished the effect which a mere statement of circumstance would command. The "*Alabama*" Claims had been determined through an arrangement which abrogated the force of recognised law, and substituted in its place an agreement consented to by disputants under an existing law. It was not the deed but the law that had been judged. Whether brought about through avarice, cowardice, or conciliation, men might differ, but that fact was beyond contradiction. He did not think it required much stretch of historic fancy to picture the attitude of ancient Rome had the consuls and tribunes of the people conspired to abrogate her laws in order to bring her subjects under tribute, apology, and wrong to a foreign power. Every sign of public mourning and private grief would have proclaimed the agony of the republic, and women clad in the deepest garb of woe would have led their children to the Capitol, begging that these, rather than the sentiments of honour and the sanctity of law, might be sacrificed. Our infidelity seemed to have left us with less regard for this sanctity of law than did the mythology of ancient Rome. (Applause.) With regard to the San Juan Award, he agreed with the noble Chairman that the reference to the arbitrators was so hemmed in as to compel a decision adverse to our ostensible claim; but he confessed that with all the respect and reverence he had as a soldier come to entertain for the power of the sword, it seemed to him a most incongruous and inexplicable thing that there should have been chosen as the arbitrator in a peaceful question, a monarch whose whole life had been engaged in determining difficult questions by the rule of might. (Hear, hear, and a laugh.) It was the drollest burlesque he had ever heard of in real life. (Laughter.) He concluded by again remarking that the Institute was much indebted to the noble Lord for his able and interesting paper.

Mr. LABILLIERE believed that though most of the questions raised by the Treaty of Washington have been finally settled, they sug-

gest many considerations of great value with respect to the future. Take for example the manner in which the decision—adverse as it had been to Canadian interests—had been received, and the admirable spirit which had been displayed by our Canadian fellow-subjects, in submitting to the severe losses which the treaty would entail upon them. What did we learn from that? We learnt that as Colonists they desired to sink provincial interests, in deference to the wishes of the whole Empire. He was one of those who advocated the federation of the Empire, and the friends of that policy were often told that they never could effect it, because provincial interests would start up, and the different parts of the Empire would never submit to the general control; but here we saw the Colonists sacrificing local interests for the common welfare, and how much more would they be prepared to do so if they had a real Federal Government in which the whole Empire would be represented? (Hear, hear.) But to pass on to another question. We had heard a great deal about the San Juan Award, but why have we now to deplore the loss of that island? Simply because, in the year 1846, few people thought it was of any consequence, or even knew of its existence. What, then, did we learn from this with regard to the future? We learnt that it was the duty of the Imperial Government—if we had one, and he questioned very much if we had, and he spoke in no party sense—to look round the boundaries of the Empire, to see if questions of even greater importance than that of San Juan might not arise. He would mention one instance. There was the great and splendid island of New Guinea, 1,200 miles long by 30 to 300 miles in breadth, within sight of the coast of Australia, and only separated from it by a channel 80 miles wide. No effort whatever had as yet been made to secure the unclaimed portion of that island for our people. The importance of it was manifest; because as colonisation progressed in Australia a large number of vessels would every year pass through the Torres Straits, and it was of the utmost consequence to Imperial interests that we should have the command of both sides of those straits. (Hear, hear.) Within the last two years a Russian naturalist had been landed in the island from a Russian man-of-war, to make scientific investigations, and everybody knew what that might mean. (A laugh.) If we lost such a position we should have more cause to regret it than the loss of the San Juan, because, whether the loss of the latter had taken place or not, we should have had a powerful neighbour in North America, whereas, by the loss of New Guinea, we may, in Australia, for the first time, be brought face to face with one of the great powers. (Hear, hear.)

The noble Lord had spoken of the apology, and he seemed to think that it was derogatory for this country to make an apology under the circumstances. When we considered what was done by those cruisers, whether we were to blame or not for their escape, it did not matter, we knew that a grievous injury had been inflicted by them upon American commerce. We knew that those cruisers went about the seas destroying defenceless vessels, and whether we were legally right or wrong, our apology stood only on the same footing as that of a private gentleman in ordinary life, who, having no matter how, innocently or unintentionally, caused injury or annoyance to his neighbour, would feel it his duty to apologise; and what was not derogatory to the dignity of a gentleman was not derogatory to the dignity of a nation. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) With regard to the three new rules spoken of, although they imposed obligations upon neutrals which had never previously been recognised, yet they were of the utmost importance to English interests, as tending to lead to a policy which he trusted would be adopted, and which would be of the greatest value to us, having the largest mercantile marine in the world,—he meant the principle of exempting private vessels from capture in time of war, to the same extent as private property on land is at present exempt. (No, no.) The present policy of allowing such vessels to be captured was highly injurious to that nation which had the largest number of vessels upon the ocean, and that country was Great Britain.

Major Sir HARRY VERNEY, Bart., M.P., considered the subject required looking into before we could blame any one for the loss of San Juan. If his Majesty the Emperor of Germany had to determine what was the best line of communication, then he thought that we and the whole civilised world had to lament his decision, and say it was unwise, imprudent, and unstatesmanlike; but on the other hand, if those who negotiated at Washington permitted only two lines of sea to be submitted for decision—the Haro and Rosario channels—then he did not think we had cause for complaint against his Majesty. Parliament would soon meet, and then the whole matter would be properly sifted, and the blame no doubt laid upon the shoulders of the proper person or persons. He (the speaker) did indeed lament that the island of San Juan had been taken from us. He recollects well, that not the island of San Juan alone, but an enormous territory to the south of that Island was, a very few years ago, as much ours as the Americans—he meant the country then called the Province of Georgia, now known as part of the Washington Territory. We had relinquished

the whole of that beautiful province for "an old song," merely because we did not know its value. (Hear, hear.) Englishmen in general had some cause to complain of the ignorance of those who ruled us with respect to these matters—(hear, hear)—and this Society could engage in no more important work than in ventilating and obtaining information on such subjects. But the question we had to consider to-night was the value of the Canadian Dominion to Great Britain. He thought the present was the time, when unpatriotic sentiments were continually being used by the leading journal of the day, for England to state whether she wished to cut off a dominion of such unspeakable value. (Hear, hear.) If it suited Canada, she might take her own course; but so long as the Canadians desired to be united with us, so long as we heard such loyal expressions as those uttered by Colonel Denison at the last meeting, so long, he said, as such terms of attachment as those were entertained, he trusted that no man who bore the name of Englishman would endeavour to separate the connection. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) Whenever they did leave us, it would be on our part with sentiments of sincere regret, and great admiration for their loyalty and attachment. His own view was that there was no object that a wise statesman ought more to have at heart at the present moment than the protection of our Colonies; and Canada was one of the most important and best situated of the whole. On the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan there was a tract of country as fertile as any in the universe, and although the climate was severe, he had no doubt that the day would come when that vast territory would be opened up to civilisation, and be populated by loyal Englishmen. (Cheers.) Railway communication was the one great thing required throughout British North America. In conclusion he referred in brief to Sir Garnet Wolseley's late expedition to the Red River Settlement, and said he hoped the Canadians would not forget that it was owing to the energy displayed by that gallant officer that Fort Garry had not been taken from them. Never had an expedition been sent out at so little cost. The total amount required to meet the various expenses was under £100,000, whereas the Abyssinian Expedition cost the country between seven and eight millions!

Mr. J. B. BROWN thought the Washington Treaty was humiliating to the country, to statesmen, and to the Press. It showed how much we wanted education, and how much our diplomats needed the common elements of geography. (Hear, hear.) He was sorry England had to lament the want of great statesmen—

statesmen equal to the growth and requirements of a great Empire; but he had also to regret that our leading journals were putting a stain upon our national character. Several of our daily prints had expressed sentiments upon Colonial questions, and particularly with regard to Canada, which found no echo in the hearts of the great body of the English people or in the minds of Colonists. (Hear, hear.) The *Times*' remarks about the French Canadians was unwarrantable. It could not truthfully be said that "a state of pupilage had reduced their higher capacities to something little removed from a native Indian," and therefore such remarks should be treated with contempt. He hoped this Society would impress upon statesmen and upon Government the necessity of bringing forward men who were able to appreciate the value of every corner of the Empire, and who could keep the people instructed as to our position—men who could see the advantage of having our Colonies around us, making them love us as we loved them, and drawing from their bosom to Westminster, colonists who could speak from their hearts such words as would thrill through every portion of the Empire. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.)

Mr. EDWARD WILSON said he was glad to hear Mr. Labilli  re touch upon a point which had not previously been discussed. There was no doubt that if we had inflicted a grievous wrong upon the United States, we deserved to be punished, and that we were justly called upon for an apology. Two questions had been submitted to arbitration, and in each we had come off second-best. Now the general rule was, that it was not very good "form" to complain of the court after the verdict had been given, and therefore we had no right to question the adverse decision of the Emperor of Germany. A great wrong had been inflicted, and therefore he (the speaker) held that an apology was needed. But he must say that we played a very foolish and weak part in helping to draw up such a Washington Treaty. It appeared to him that our diplomatists were not quite up to their work. To Washington we sent amateurs totally inexperienced in the work of negotiating treaties. We put them face to face, and subjected them to long and detailed discussions with some of the cleverest fellows in the world—men who were not very high-principled in international relations truly, but who had adopted a tone towards foreign countries, and to England, which was fast becoming intolerable. And out of that came what? Why, what the Americans complained of more than the "Alabama"—a want of sympathy in their cause. Well, he must confess that during the American war no man sympathised more with the South than he did. He hated slavery, but he sympathised

with the South, because he believed the diplomacy of the North was so aggressive, that it would one day lead to collision with this country, and his belief was that if the United States were divided into two parts, they would be more likely to fight with one another than with England or any foreign power. ("Hear, hear," and a laugh.) But it had come to pass that an Englishman had no right to sympathise. Any way it has been said by the Press and Parliament that "we ought to be ashamed of our sympathies." When was that doctrine first enunciated, he would like to know? He maintained that an Englishman as a citizen had a perfect right to sympathise with whom he pleased; although as a minister it was absolutely necessary for him to adhere to the strictest rules of neutrality. A great deal had been said about the evil effects of *ex post facto* legislation, and little by little we were beginning to look upon those words as something dreadful. Before such terms were used, he thought we ought to look deeper into the matter. The tone that was adopted before the conclusion of the Washington Treaty was that we had honestly performed our international obligations; but it seemed to him that international obligations were things which had not been very accurately considered. He could only say that international obligations were capable of as high a morality as obligations to individuals, and if the municipal law were inadequate, the fault was with those who retained it. (Hear, hear.) In conclusion he referred to the "bullying" nature of the American diplomatists. He also characterised the recent policy of the Ministry as a snivelling policy, which was also a very unsafe one.

MR. GEORGE CRAWSHAY believed it was absolutely necessary for us to discharge our duties of neutrality, but was not prepared to enlarge the sphere of neutral obligations as had been suggested to-night, believing it would involve us in very great difficulties. He objected to the Washington Treaty because it had been drawn up and concluded against the constitutional law of England. It engaged us to pay whatever might be awarded by the arbitrators without any reference whatever to the rights of Parliament. Now he had always understood that whatever might be the right of the Crown to make treaties with foreign countries, it always remained for Parliament to say whether any money should be paid or not. (Hear, hear.) He felt bound to draw attention to this point, as up to the present time no notice whatever had been taken of it in the House of Commons. Those who belonged to Canada had felt very acutely the unceremonious manner in which they had been treated by England in this matter. It

appeared to him that the Treaty was also greatly to be condemned on those grounds.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG, alluding to the last speaker, said Parliament had ratified the Treaty, and had therefore accepted the responsibility of it. Since the commencement of the discussion on the paper read by the noble Lord, there had been but one testimony as to his great ability in handling the subject. A more fair, temperate, and comprehensive view of this great question it would have been impossible to have brought forward. (Hear, hear.) At the same time he had no doubt that the conclusion had been arrived at by many who heard it—the same conclusion which he himself had come to—that the Treaty of Washington was a blunder. In every point that had been submitted to arbitration we had been unsuccessful. To go back to the principal question out of which the Treaty arose, namely, the "*Alabama*" Claims. There was no doubt that every one who was at all acquainted with the mercantile marine of this country knew, from the first moment she was laid down in Mr. Laird's yard, that the "*Alabama*" was meant for something more than commercial purposes, and it always appeared to him a most extraordinary thing that our Government should have been so blind as not to see she was built for purposes of war. That was the one reason why he objected to the Washington Treaty. He considered it would have been better even after the mischief was done for us to have acknowledged our fault, and then perhaps we might have come off with less damages, and certainly with more credit. (Hear, hear.) He could not help feeling very much delighted with the very spirited speech made by Colonel Denison at the last meeting. He (the speaker) was one of those who, like the Colonel, did not think we ought to give way to "brag" and "bounce," but always to stand on our dignity, and not permit ourselves to be frightened by any large sounding words. Before he sat down he must express his disappointment and disgust at a recent article in the *Times* on Canada. What the motives of the writer of that article and of the leading journal could be he confessed he was utterly unable to see. The object of such words as "Take up your freedom," "the days of your apprenticeship are over," after uttering other similar expressions which every true Englishman must condemn, was to him utterly inconceivable. We in England, as long as our Canadian fellow-subjects were content to be united with us, were bound to keep up the connection—in fact it was to the well-being and safety of the Empire that it should be so, and therefore he was utterly unable to see—especially, too,

after quoting the noble language of the Poet-Laureate—what object the *Times* had in wishing to sever the tie; and, as an Englishman, he earnestly protested against such unpatriotic and shameful sentiments.

Lord BURY: Before his Grace, as President of this Society, closes the discussion which has ensued on the reading of my paper, I should like to make one or two remarks. You will remember that the object of my paper, as became a member of the Royal Colonial Institute, was to show in what way the Washington Treaty affected the interests of our Colonies, and more especially of Canada. In affecting those interests it of course affected the interest of the whole Empire, for Canada is a part, and I hope always will be a part, of the great Empire to which we all belong. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Now my position was that whatever good resulted to Great Britain from the Treaty of Washington was gained at the expense of our great Colony across the Atlantic. It is undeniable that claims which they might justly have paid have been entirely given up. It is equally undeniable that the Fisheries, to which they attached enormous importance, were not ceded, but referred to arbitration, and we know to what arbitration is likely to lead us. There are other points, such as the free navigation of the St. Lawrence without adequate compensation, in which the interests of Canada have also been sacrificed. It was only incidentally that the question of the "*Alabama*" arose, and Mr. Wilson hit a "blot in the paper" when he referred to the manner in which the negotiations took place, and the small mention that was made of the Alaska frontier. I only wish we had time to go fully into that matter. With regard to Mr. Wilson's remarks on our obligations, he said that our diplomacy was a very weak one, and that we sheltered ourselves under the belief that, in performing our obligations we are called upon to perform international obligations. One point of my paper was this: that international obligations did not compel us to stop the departure of the "*Alabama*"; that it was the three rules that were invented subsequent to these obligations that alone imposed that burden upon us, and that if these three rules had not existed no tribunal in the world could have blamed us for the departure of that vessel. It was not that we kept up to the municipal obligations of the country, and so fulfilled our international obligations. It was because our international obligations did not come so far as our municipal obligations. Until these three new rules were heard of, we never had any duty which we did not entirely perform. The weakness of our diplomacy was in allowing these rules to be made after our obliga-

tions had been defined. When I said that all the benefit we received was acquired at the expense of the Canadians, it proves to my mind—and I am sure it proves to yours—that we imposed a burden upon a willing and loyal people: people who shared our respect for the name of Britain; and when we see that that loyalty is repaid by tones of insult, we rise, as Englishmen should, against the degradation in which it involves us. We first sacrificed the interests of persons which were identical with our own, and then we not only derided them but told them they could leave us. Gentlemen, we may talk of leading journals, but I venture to say that however great, and however vast may be the power—and I do not deny it—of those who wield that vast engine, the newspaper, in which those remarks appeared, that in this respect they neither led nor followed public opinion—(hear, hear);—that they stand alone amid the Press of England, alone amid the people of England, in uttering a sentiment so sordid and unpatriotic, and, indeed, I would hardly shrink from using the word so treasonable. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) We have all read—nay, it has been read throughout the English-speaking world by this time—the noble ode of the Poet-Laureate. He speaks warmly of our Colonial Empire, and more particularly of

“—that true North, whereof we lately heard  
A strain to shame us—‘Keep you to yourselves;  
So loyal is too costly! Friends, your love  
Is but a burthen: loose the bond, and go.’  
Is this the tone of empire? here the faith  
That made us rulers? this, indeed, her voice  
And meaning, whom the roar of Hougoumont  
Left mightiest of all peoples under Heaven?  
What shook has fooled her since, that she should speak  
So feebly? wealthier—wealthier—hour by hour!  
The voice of Britain, or a sinking land,  
Some third-rate isle half lost among her seas?  
There rang her voice when the full city pealed  
Thee and thy Prince! The loyal to their crown  
Are loyal to their own far sons, who love  
Our Ocean Empire with her boundless homes  
For ever-broadening England, and her throne  
In our vast Orient, and one isle, one isle,  
That knows not her own greatness: if she knows  
And dreads it we are fallen.”

Gentlemen, I firmly believe that if once a disintegration of our Empire, such as is shadowed forth by the *Times*, were to commence, it would leave us not a third-rate isle amidst our seas, but a sinking people, soon to sink so low until we were finally emerged into

that vast abyss in which nations disappear from the face of the earth. Where the Romans have gone there we should go. Oh, for a tongue to utter the words that arise in my mind! Oh, that this Society could awaken England to the danger which occurs by allowing to exist such a tone of feeling amongst us! But to go back to the speech from which I started. I had only to sum up in a few words the debate which has arisen. I am highly gratified by it, inasmuch as the justice of the conclusions which I had ventured to draw has been in no degree impugned. The Treaty has been looked at from various points, by the several gentlemen who have spoken; but I think we are all agreed it is a document which, however valuable it may be, inflicts wounds upon Englishmen and make demands upon Canadian loyalty. I am bound to add one word to that. The other night I was in conversation with a gentleman well known in Canada, and indeed high in an official position in that country. He said, "I have read your paper, and I think it is a very one-sided one." I said, "Indeed; but don't you agree with it? Is it not true that Canada has paid the greater portion of the price?" He said, "It is true; but Canada has purchased at least ten years of tranquillity. She has a neighbour across the frontier who is always on the point of stirring up strife, but for ten years she will have peace. Before the ratification of the Treaty took place, Canadian securities were not very much in demand; now they have risen, and they will rise several points higher. Ask yourself, now, whether the price she has paid is too great." Gentlemen, at the beginning of the remarks I made, I said I wanted to be rigidly impartial. I feel that I was impartial so far that I did not give due expression or due weight to any such notion as that which I have just given you, and therefore, in summing up the whole, I felt bound—whatever I think of those remarks—to place them before you. There is something in them; but each of you must look at them for yourselves.

His Grace the Duke of MANCHESTER: Gentlemen,—I wish to draw a lesson from the events of the history which has been described to you by the noble Lord. It has been hinted to you by Mr. Labilli  re, Sir Harry Verney, and Mr. Crawshay; indeed, the remarks they made have tended to it. The lesson I wish to draw is to advocate or to revive what I have often recommended to you—in fact for many years it has been rather a hobby of mine, but I think this is a great and historical event which more than ever shows the necessity of our having some authoritative body in which the opinions and the wishes, the rights and the interests of each separate part of the Empire could be represented—a body

which should have the power and authority to see that those wishes and those interests were carried into effect, and a body which should be able to inspire and control, to call to office or drive from office the Ministers of the Crown. I think until some Council of that kind is inaugurated, we shall always be having treaties which will one after the other, piecemeal, abandon English territory in America or in other parts of the world, by sacrificing the interests of the Empire as a whole, and especially the local interests. At present the Empire is governed in the first instance by the House of Commons, but on account of the increasing magnitude of home affairs, the Ministers have not time to turn their attention to, or to acquaint themselves with, the wants of the more distant parts of the Empire—the growing parts of the Empire, which will soon be the most important. And therefore I wish to enforce upon you that it is necessary for us to have a Council to inform the Ministers of the Queen of what is really required for the Empire—(hear, hear, and cheers)—a Council which shall command the Imperial Army and Navy, and use them in the interests of the Empire, and a Council which shall alone, without any direct check from the House of Commons, control the diplomacy of her Majesty's Ministers. (Applause.) Sir Harry Verney has referred to the late expedition to the Red River Settlement. I wish to say that that expedition was advised and arranged by Sir Garnet Wolseley. He carried out to the letter what he proposed to the Government. I had an opportunity of reading his proposals, and I was so much interested in them, that I wished to go out and see the expedition start from Lake Superior. But the circumstance which unfortunately prevented my seeing Canada, and which also prevented that expedition earning the credit and praise it deserved, was the war which broke out between France and Prussia. Gentlemen, I have now nothing more to do, but in your name to thank Lord Bury most sincerely for the very able and statesmanlike paper he has drawn up respecting the Washington Treaty.

Lord Bury: I thank you for the kind way in which you have expressed your opinions on my paper.

It was proposed by Mr. J. B. Brown, seconded by Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG, and carried with acclamation, "That the best thanks of the Meeting be given to the Poet-Laureate, Mr. Alfred Tennyson, for the noble lines on the loyalty of the Colonies, in his lately published 'Ode to the Queen,' which had been reprinted for circulation by the Institute, accompanied by a recommendation that he be invited to become an Honorary Fellow of the Institute."

The following Paper by Mr. J. G. BOURINOT of the Senate, Canada, on the "Marine and Fisheries of Canada," was then read by Mr. G. R. GODSON, as Mr. Bourinot's representative :—

No country in the world possesses more admirable facilities for the prosecution of all branches of maritime enterprise than the dominion of Canada. Looking to the eastward, we see the provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, with an extensive line of sea-coast, indented, especially in the case of the latter, with bays and harbours offering every possible inducement to commerce. Still further to the east lies the island of Newfoundland, the Prima or Buena Vista of the early navigators, in the very midst of the finest fishery of the Continent, and destined ere long to form a part of the Confederation, and become the head-quarters of an immense trade. As one great island forms the eastern barrier, so another, smaller in extent, but equally important in a maritime point of view, defends the approaches to the Pacific coast of the Dominion. While the eastern and western extremities of Canada are washed by two oceans—the one the road to Asia, the other to Europe—nature has given her a system of internal communication, unrivalled even by the Republic on her borders. The St. Lawrence runs through a large portion of her most valuable, and at present most populous territory, and carries to the ocean the tribute of the great lakes and the noble rivers that water the provinces of Quebec and Ontario. Both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick possess numerous rivers, some of them of very considerable length and magnitude, and connecting the most inland counties with the sea-board. By energetically availing themselves of these natural advantages, the people of British North America have been able in the course of a very few years to attain a commercial position which is most creditable to their industry and enterprise.

The people who own this immense stretch of country extending from ocean to ocean are of the same races who, from times immemorial, have been famous for their achievements on the seas. They take as much pride as the men of Devon themselves in the record of Grenville, Gilbert, Frobisher, Raleigh, Drake, and all those gallant men whose names are so indissolubly associated with the maritime triumphs of the parent State, and with the history of

discovery on the continent of America. If there is an era in English history most interesting to Canadians, it is that Elizabethan age when England laid deep and firm the foundations of her maritime superiority, and her adventurous sons, above all the sea-worthies of Devon, went forth to plant her flag in *Prima Vista*, in the ice-bound regions of the North, or on the islands and shores of the tropics.

But whilst the energy and enterprise of the British races have, to so large an extent, made Canada what she is now, we must not forget that it was to England's ancient rival across the Channel that we owe the first settlements on our shores. The Basques, the Bretons, and the Normans, themselves a maritime people by virtue of descent and occupation, were the first to till the "deep-sea pastures" of American waters. From Dieppe, St. Malo, Rochelle, and other seaports of France, came those maritime adventurers who, in frail craft hardly larger than the smallest fishing schooners on our coast, dared all the dangers of the unknown seas, and planted the first colonies on the banks of the St. Lawrence or on the shores of Acadie. With wonderful discrimination they selected those harbours and bays which are naturally best adapted for trade, and modern enterprise has not denied in a single instance the wisdom of their choice. Quebec, Montreal, and New Orleans still remain to attest the prescience of the French pioneers; Louisbourg, it is true, is now only the abode of a few fishermen, but its natural position for trade is unrivalled, and sooner or later we must see a town rise above the green mounds which now alone remain to tell of its greatness in the days of the French *régime*.

The early history of Canada is a record of tumult and war, and if we would follow her commercial and maritime progress we need not go back many years. Traffic in fish and fur was prosecuted to a limited extent during those times when the French and English were establishing themselves on this continent, and struggling for the supremacy. Next followed the War of Independence, and many years later the war of 1812-14, to the injury of Canadian industry, then in its very infancy. But since those warlike times in the early part of the century, there has been an era of peace, only disturbed by the political dissension and strife of 1836-7, and Canada has been able to go steadily forward on the path of commercial and industrial progress. Year by year, since 1815, the pioneer has advanced up the St. Lawrence, and made his settlements in the western province. Craft of various sizes soon commenced to whiten the waters of the lakes, and eventually the

population and commerce of the West so increased that canals had to be built to give speedy and secure access to the ports of Montreal and Quebec. Railways followed canals, and steamers the clumsy schooners and flat-boats of old times, while cities and towns grew with unexampled rapidity throughout the Province, where not a single settlement of any importance existed in the days of French rule on the St. Lawrence. The population of Ontario or Upper Canada, in a very few years from the date of the Union, considerably exceeded that of the French Canadian Province, which had been given so long a start in the race of civilisation. The Provinces by the sea, then politically isolated from the country on the St. Lawrence and lakes, also made steady advances during this era of peace, especially in maritime enterprise. But, in tracing the commercial progress of Canada, we cannot fail to remark that it really dates from the extension of her political privileges and the removal of those restrictions which England imposed on Colonial trade and navigation during those times when sound principles of political economy were hardly understood, and commercial fallacies lay to a great extent at the basis of all her commercial legislation. The result of the statesmanlike policy that the mother country within twenty or thirty years has adopted towards Canada in common with other Colonies, has not only tended to stimulate the energy and enterprise of the Canadian people, but has actually benefited the manufacturing and mercantile community of Great Britain, inasmuch as the Provinces are now consumers of British merchandise to a far greater extent than would have been possible under the old system of monopolies and navigation laws. Fifty years ago the whole population of British North America was not equal to a million of souls, whilst at the present time it is in excess of four millions. The total trade at that time did not exceed the value of \$12,000,000, whereas it may be now estimated at fully \$170,000,000. This is the natural result of the peace and the political and commercial freedom which we have now so long enjoyed under the protecting guidance of the parent state.

In her extensive range of sea and lake navigation, in her inexhaustible fisheries, in her wide sweep of forests, and above all, in the energy and endurance of her people, we see the elements which have enabled Canada to reach a foremost position among maritime nations—equal, in fact, to the country which gave birth to Cartier and Champlain, and far ahead of the Spaniards and Dutch, so supreme on the ocean in the days when the name of Canada was never heard of. So great is the change that has taken place since the century when many a stately Spanish galleon crossed the ocean

from the Spanish main, and Tromp swept the seas with a broom hoisted at his masthead. The fisheries have naturally laid the foundations of the maritime industry of the provinces. From the earliest times of which we have any record, fishermen from the Basque and Norman coast have flung their lines on the banks of Newfoundland, and carried home full fares long before a single English vessel ventured into the same seas to prosecute this lucrative branch of industry. But the French settlements on the Lower St. Lawrence, and on the shores of the gulf and the peninsula of Acadie, had but limited opportunities of following the fisheries in the warlike times which preceded the conquest of Canada. Louisbourg was then the rendezvous of the French vessels which yearly resorted to these fisheries ; and it is recorded that in the year preceding the capture of that strongly-fortified town by the English fleet under Warren, and the fishermen of New England under the command of Pepperrell, France had some 600 sail, manned by 20,000 sailors, employed in our waters. For many years after the conquest, the branch of industry was not prosecuted to any great extent in these waters, but during the past forty years it has revived. Of all the possessions France once owned in America, she now only retains the insignificant islets of St. Pierre and Mequilon, to the south of Newfoundland, and enjoys certain rights of fishing, drying, and curing on a large portion of the coast of that island. Though the number of vessels vary according as there is peace or war in Europe, yet she has not failed to send out a fleet from year to year to St. Pierre, where a little colony of officials, merchants, and fishermen has been established. The official statistics for 1865 show that 580 vessels were in that year employed in the cod-fisheries, with a combined capacity of 65,929 tons, and manned by nearly 11,000 men, and, so far as I can learn from sources of information within my reach, the amount of tonnage at the present time must be upwards of 60,000, and the value of the catch may be put down at between \$3,000,000 and \$4,000,000. Slight as is the hold France now retains on the Northern half of this continent, she values it highly, and clings to it with tenacity, because it gives her a *point d'appui*, or base, for the prosecution of the fisheries, which she has for so many centuries followed with such valuable results to her material commercial wealth, and her naval strength. She may colonise St. Pierre and Mequilon, but she cannot build fortifications or keep a large armed force on these insignificant islands. Under the same treaty with England it was allowed the subjects of France "to catch fish, and to dry them on the land, in that part only, and in no

other besides, of the said island of Newfoundland, which stretches from the place called Bona Vista to the northern part of the said island, and from thence running down by the western side, reaches as far as the place called Point Riche." By a subsequent treaty, it was agreed that the French rights should extend from Cape St. John to Cape Ray. The French have more than once asserted an exclusive right to the fisheries on that coast, but it is now understood that they only enjoy "*a concurrent right*" with *British subjects*. These rights have long caused considerable irritation to the people of Newfoundland, and no doubt in the course of time, when the island forms a part of the Confederation and the French coast is required for purposes of trade and settlement, some understanding will be arrived at with the French Government on the subject of their claims. The people who have most coveted the British American fisheries are the inhabitants of the Atlantic States, who have long fished in our waters and drawn from them a considerable portion of their wealth. The importance and value of our fisheries can be immediately seen from the disputes and difficulties that have for more than half a century arisen between England and the United States, on account of the determination of the latter country to have access to our fishing ground at all hazards. The British Government, however, have never acknowledged the validity of their claims, but have excluded them from the Bays of Chaleurs, Fundy, and the Straits of Canso, and from fishing anywhere within three miles of the shores, harbours, and bays of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Cape Breton, and Prince Edward Island. The Reciprocity Treaty, however, threw open all the fisheries to the Americans, who immediately embarked in this enterprise with a vigour which astonished the people of the maritime provinces. The fisheries they value most are those of mackerel, which are only to be prosecuted with profit in Canadian waters—off Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island, and in the Bay of Chaleurs especially. During the time they had access to the fisheries they also availed themselves largely of their right of fishing for cod and herring in the Bay of Fundy, and in other bays within the three miles' limit of the shores of the maritime provinces; but it is the mackerel that they chiefly covet, and for which they have always been prepared to make certain commercial concessions. Now that they are again to enjoy the rights they possessed under the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854-65, it is important to consider the value of the fisheries we concede to them, and the value of the concessions we receive in exchange; I shall therefore attempt to present some facts and figures which may illustrate a subject of considerable

interest at the present juncture, when a Commission must shortly sit at Halifax to consider the question whether any pecuniary compensation is due to us over and above the right which we are to enjoy of taking our fish free into the American markets.

It is very difficult to get at full and accurate estimates of the tonnage and value of the fish actually caught by the Americans in our waters. According to a return lately issued by the Secretary of State, Washington, the following represents the tonnage employed for a number of years in the deep-sea fisheries:—

Year.	Mackerel Fishery.	Cod Fishery.	Year.	Mackerel Fishery.	Cod. Fishery.
1820	..	—	1863	..	51,019 .. 117,290
1830	..	35,973 ..	1864	..	55,498 .. 92,745
1840	..	28,269 ..	1865	..	41,209 .. 59,288
1850	..	58,112 ..	1866	..	46,589 .. 42,796
1860	..	26,111 ..	1867	..	31,498 .. 36,709
1861	..	54,296 ..	1868	..	83,828 .. —
1862	..	80,597 ..			
		122,863			

Massachusetts is that State of the Union which devotes most attention to the mackerel fishery; the total value of the catch in 1855 having been \$1,855,882, and in 1865, \$1,886,837. The value of the cod fishery of the same State during the same years was \$1,418,418 and \$2,689,728 respectively.

The total value of the American fishery in 1864, when the Reciprocity Treaty was still in operation, but the Civil War had sadly disturbed this branch of industry, is put down as follows by the same American authority:—

Whale-fishery	..	..	\$4,971,347 in gold
Cod and mackerel-fishery	..	..	4,026,849 ..
Total	..	..	\$8,998,196

But if we go back to 1860, before the war occurred to cripple this branch of industry, especially in the case of the whale fishery, we find the amount of tonnage employed was in the aggregate nearly double that of 1865, and the catch may be fairly valued at between \$14,000,000 and \$15,000,000—the value of the whale fishery alone having been \$6,504,888. Mr. E. H. Derby, in his official report laid before Congress in 1867, cites authority to prove that “during the two last years of the Reciprocity Treaty the United States had fishing in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Bay of Chaleurs, no less than 600 sail, which must have taken fish to the amount of \$4,500,000.” The same authority says that “nearly one-fourth of our fishing fleet, with a tonnage of 40,000 to 50,000

tons, worth \$5,000,000 to \$7,000,000 annually, fish *near* the three miles' limit of the provinces"—"near" being Mr. Derby's euphemism for "within." Since the repeal by the Reciprocity Treaty, and the disturbance of commerce and industry by the civil war, the fisheries have not been prosecuted to the same extent that they were up to 1865; but the moment the new treaty comes into force, American fishermen will flock in larger numbers to the Gulf and Bay, and enter into the most active competition with our own people. Even under the license system, which was so persistently evaded, 454 licenses were issued in 1866 to American vessels, which by no means represented the total number known to have fished within a marine league of our shores. The Minister of Marine and Fisheries of Canada calculates that the Americans employ between eight and eleven hundred vessels in our fisheries, and that their annual catch, chiefly within the three miles' limit, may be valued at upwards of \$8,000,000. It is safe to say, with all these facts before us, that the money value of the concessions made to the United States will be between \$6,000,000 and \$7,000,000 Canadian currency, a very moderate estimate, if the New England fishermen go into the fisheries hereafter with anything like the energy they displayed under the Reciprocity Treaty.

Now in considering the value of the concessions on the part of the United States, we may as well leave altogether out of the account the privilege of fishing on the American coast, a privilege which will not be used by the Nova Scotians or New Brunswickers to any extent worth mentioning. The repeal of the duties on the Canadian fish brought into the American market, however, is a valuable concession to a leading interest of the Dominion, but it is still very far from being adequate compensation for the use of the fisheries. According to the same authority from which we have previously quoted—and on a question of this kind it is advisable, when practicable, to quote from American official documents—the United States received the following produce of the fisheries from *all* British North America, and collected the following duties thereon in 1867:—

			Value.	Duty paid.
Mackerel	..	..	77,503 brls.,	\$675,986
Herring	..	..	97,595 "	321,404
Salmon	..	..	6,216 "	125,413
Other fish in brls.	..	..	152,688 "	152,688
Fish not in brls.	..	..	6,505,942 lbs.	199,686
Oil, seal	..	..	340,035 gals.	185,132
Oil, whale and cod	..	..	180,504 "	115,360
				<hr/>
			\$1,773,669	\$382,300

The same authority gives the following statement of the value of the fish imported from the Provinces for a term of years.

1858	1,500,000	1862	1,078,073	1875	2,193,384
1860	1,500,000	1863	957,166	1866	1,627,000
1861	1,797,722	1864	1,477,155	1867	1,773,669

If these figures prove anything it is this, that the value of the export from all British North America into the United States has varied very little before and since the Reciprocity Treaty. The Canadian returns give the total value of all the fish exported to all countries by the Dominion in 1870-1 at \$4,000,000, of which less than one-third was sent to the United States. It may be safely estimated that half a million of dollars will, for some years, represent the total value of the remission of duties on Canadian produce. It may, indeed, be urged that since the free use of our fisheries will increase the catch of the American fisherman, the sale of our own may be consequently diminished to a certain extent in the American market. At all events it is reasonable to suppose that the quantity henceforth exported by Canada to the United States will not be very much greater than heretofore. The Americans, under any circumstances, are forced to buy our lumber and fish, and in case of a duty the consumer must pay it of necessity. We must remember, too, that instead of the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty crippling Canada to the extent anticipated five or six years ago, it has really stimulated the energies of her people, and forced them to seek new and remunerative markets elsewhere for the sale of their surplus products. It is now within our power to supply South America more cheaply with the fish which the Americans have been in the habit of buying from us and re-exporting to those southern countries.

The growth of the fishery interest of British North America has been steady during the past twelve years. In 1860 the value of the fish caught in the Dominion waters was about \$4,000,000, and adding \$4,440,000 for Newfoundland, and \$272,582 for Prince Edward Island, we have an aggregate value of \$8,712,582. In 1866, the value of the Dominion catch was estimated at \$6,268,000, and that of the product of all the Provinces at \$10,887,000. The actual quantity of fish, exported and consumed within the Dominion, was estimated in 1870 by the Marine and Fishery Department at a value of \$8,000,000, and adding as much more for Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, we have a total of \$16,000,000. While the tonnage of the American fishing interest has been steadily declining, since 1860, the value of the same branch of industry in the Dominion, as well as in all British North

America, has doubled. The value of the exports in 1871 was as follows :—

Nova Scotia	..	..	..	..	..	\$2,852,255
New Brunswick	..	..	..	..	..	374,379
Quebec	..	..	..	..	..	678,162
Ontario	..	..	..	..	..	89,479
						<hr/>
						Total for the Dominion
				..	..	\$3,994,275
						<hr/>
Newfoundland	..	..	..	..	..	7,825,159
Prince Edward Island	..	..	..	..	..	<hr/> 350,000
						<hr/>
						Total for all B. N. America
				..	..	\$12,169,434

The value of all the fish caught in British North America waters may be estimated as follows :—

By B. N. America	..	..	..	\$16,000,000
By United States	..	..	..	8,000,000
By France	..	..	..	<hr/> 3,000,000
				<hr/>
Total	..	..	..	\$27,000,000

British Columbia, as yet, prosecutes the fisheries to no extent worth mentioning, but she possesses great quantities of salmon, and is within easy reach of the valuable whale and cod fisheries of the North Pacific. At the present time California has some thirty vessels engaged in the cod-fishery, principally in the vicinity of the Chamagouin and Fox Islands. British Columbia also sends several small schooners to the Russian coast, where there are numerous cod-banks. Of late years the number of American whalers that resort to the northern waters has been steadily decreasing—from 278 in 1852 to some 80 or 90 at the present time—and the whales are consequently becoming tamer and increasing in numbers ; and perhaps when the Canadian Pacific Railway is completed, and population and capital have at last found their way into that distant province on the Pacific coast, it will engage energetically in the whale and cod fisheries, and help to swell the aggregate of the product of the Dominion.

In the men that sail the fishing-fleets of Canada, we see the elements of a very powerful marine, which will be found invaluable in times of national danger. For should ever a national emergency demand the services of this class, they will prove as useful auxiliaries as ever were the fishermen of New England, who first captured the most formidable French fortress on this continent, or as ever were their descendants who, a century later, again rallied to the public defence, and manned the navies of the Republic. It may be estimated that the total strength which the fisheries employ throughout all British North America is composed of some 75,000 men.

On the energetic prosecution of the rich fisheries of this continent rests the very foundation of our national strength in the future. It would, indeed, say little for our energy or industry were we to allow ourselves to be beaten by foreigners in the competition in our own waters; but the figures we have just read prove conclusively that we have made more rapid progress in the development of this source of wealth than any other country in the world, and now stand the foremost in the prosecution of the sea fisheries, the aggregate of the product of British North America now exceeding that of Great Britain, or France, or the United States, or Norway, or Holland, which have always devoted a large amount of labour and capital to the development of this branch of industry.

No doubt if Canada could enjoy the exclusive use of the fisheries she would soon control the fish market of the world, and make immense additions to her wealth in the course of a few years, but such a contingency is very improbable in view of England's conciliatory and yielding policy towards our American neighbours. We have never refused to the Americans the right of fishing in our waters when they have consented to deal with us in a spirit of fairness and justice. We have recently agreed to the Washington Treaty out of deference to the wishes of the Imperial Government, and under the deep conviction that it is most desirable to avoid any unpleasantness with a people with whom we have so many interests in common. Any serious disagreement in connection with the fisheries would soon precipitate a conflict which would entail a loss on the Dominion of far more consequence than any gain we might make by shutting out all foreigners from the use of our fishing grounds. We feel, too, that as the fisheries are at our very doors, and our taxes comparatively light, we are in a position to compete successfully with the energy and enterprise of the fishermen of New England. The Americans themselves feel this, for we read in an official document just issued by the State Department:—"The contrast in the condition of the respective fisheries of the United States and Provinces is now still more in favour of the latter than in 1853. The salt in both cases may be considered free of duty. They are therefore on a par in this respect. The advantages, however, possessed by the Provinces of proximity to the fishing-grounds and of the employment of boats, rendering it unnecessary in a great degree to invest a large capital in vessels and outfit; the low duties imposed upon tea, coffee, sugar, molasses, &c., and on wool-lens, cordage, duck, &c., in comparison with those imposed by the tariff of the United States; the cheaper labour; the light dues exacted from American fishermen—all tend to enable the Provinces

to undersell the United States in exterior markets." But the fact that we enjoy these advantages does not depreciate the value of the concessions we have made. If we admit the American fishermen to a partnership in the fisheries, we can fairly ask them for an amount of capital which will fully represent the value of the business, which, we have already seen, is worth to them \$6,000,000 and upwards every year.

It is to the fisheries we owe to a very great extent the origin and prosperity of the mercantile marine of British North America. Though our commercial history only commenced, as it were, yesterday, yet we already own an aggregate of tonnage exceeding that of all other countries in the world except Great Britain and the United States, and equal to that of France. The little province of Nova Scotia alone possesses a navy nearly if not equal to that of Holland, whose marine also sprung from the successful prosecution of the fisheries—whose capital, it has been said, was built on a foundation of herring-bones. Ship-building was carried on in the Provinces with great activity between 1840 and 1865. In the latter year—

Nova Scotia built .....	294	vessels, or	56,768	tons, worth	\$2,481,752
New Brunswick built .....	148	"	65,474	"	2,618,960
Ontario and Quebec built .....	—	"	63,915	"	2,556,600
Prince Edward Island built .....	130	"	26,193	"	916,753
Newfoundland built .....	71	"	2,010	"	80,400
Total value .....					\$8,654,465

The increased demand for steam and iron vessels has of late years interfered very materially with the construction of the wooden craft built in the Provinces; but, nevertheless, that branch of industry is flourishing, as the following return for 1871 shows:—

Ontario built .....	55	vessels of	7,777	tons.
Quebec built .....	80	"	20,664	"
New Brunswick built .....	108	"	33,356	"
Nova Scotia built .....	146	"	44,307	"

But the provinces now chiefly build vessels for their own trade, and consequently own and sail a large amount of tonnage. In 1806, all British America only owned a tonnage of 71,948; in a quarter of a century it had reached 176,040; in fifty years it had more than doubled, 399,204. In 1867 the mercantile marine of Canada showed an increase of 224,000 tons over 1801, and was distributed as follows:—

	No.	Tons.	Value.
Ontario .....	481	66,969	\$2,787,800
Quebec .....	1,428	155,690	4,633,945
New Brunswick .....	826	200,777	5,904,605
Nova Scotia .....	3,087	352,917	10,266,812
 Total for Canada .....	 5,822	 776,343	 23,583,062
" Newfoundland .....	1,657	83,939	3,117,560
" P. E. Island .....	280	40,000	1,000,000
 Total for B. N. A. ....	 7,659	 899,282	 \$28,300,622

We have not the complete returns of the Census of 1870 at hand, but it is estimated on good authority that the total tonnage of the Dominion at the present time is at least a million, and that of all British North America one hundred and fifty thousand greater. Of this aggregate there is a considerable part made up of small vessels engaged in the fisheries. Of late years the maritime provinces have embarked more largely in the fisheries in the gulf and on the banks, which can only be prosecuted in schooners. Still, a great proportion consists of vessels of large class, not a few of which are classed as A 1 at Lloyd's, and carry freights in every quarter of the globe. Propellers are rapidly taking the place of sailing vessels on the lakes, and many of them are of a size beyond the capacity of the canals. It was a Nova Scotian, Sir Samuel Cunard, who established the most efficient and successful line of steamers that has ever carried the British flag across the ocean. A firm of Montreal merchants, the Messrs. Allan, are also the proprietors of another line of ocean steamships, equally famous for their speed and safety. This company was formed in 1833, and now owns some twenty steamers, those of the main line ranging from 4,000 to 2,000 tons, and not surpassed by the "Cunarders" in all the essentials of comfort.

Whilst the marine of Canada is making steady progress, that of the United States is exhibiting a rapid decline, as was recently fully shown in an able paper by Mr. R. G. Haliburton.\* Shipbuilding has almost ceased in the New England States; the bulk of foreign commerce is carried in foreign ships, not a single line of Atlantic steamers is owned by the merchants of the United States. The depredations of the Confederate cruisers no doubt did much to injure American shipping; the preference given to iron vessels over wooden ships has also tended in the same direction; but the real causes of the silence that still exists in the once noisy shipyards of Maine and Massachusetts, and of the decadence of the

\* *Vide "Proceedings of Royal Colonial Institute," Vol. III., page 134.*

American marine generally, must be sought in the fiscal legislation of the United States. From 1861 to 1870 the amount of the foreign trade carried in American vessels decreased some 40 per cent. compared with 1860, when the great proportion of the trade was carried under the American flag. In 1860 the total tonnage of the United States was 5,353,868, but by 1868 it had decreased to 3,674,482, and there has been little or no improvement up to the present time. The tonnage of vessels engaged in the fisheries has decreased from 828,606 in 1860 to about one-half in 1870-1. With an irredeemable and fluctuating paper currency in circulation, with a high rate of wages, with a large increase in the prices of necessities and the cost of living generally, with an exorbitant tariff amounting in many cases to the prohibition of certain articles, the energy and enterprise of the people of the United States have naturally been paralysed, and the American marine has been unable to compete with the marine of other nations on the broad field of commercial rivalry. On the other hand, the commercial policy of Canada has been based on those liberal principles which are best calculated to develop trade and enterprise. When the Americans, so foolishly for themselves, repealed the Reciprocity Treaty, under which a limited trade had grown up to afford employment to American shipping, Canada never exhibited the same selfish and domineering disposition, but threw open her fisheries on the payment of a nominal license fee, and always showed a willingness to come to some arrangement with her neighbours on matters of trade. Her tariff has been adjusted to encourage the shipping interest by the free admission of all materials that enter into the construction of vessels. Large sums of public money have been annually expended for the improvement of lake and sea-coast navigation; a careful system of steam-boat inspection has been devised, and so efficiently carried out, that less accidents occur on our inland waters than on those of the United States; legislation has been passed for the relief of sick or distressed seamen, and for the examination of masters and mates, who henceforth can rate with the same class in England;—all this Canada has done with the view of promoting her great maritime industry, and her wise policy stands in remarkable contrast with the illiberal, indiscreet system of her American neighbours, under which their marine has so rapidly declined. At the last Session of Congress, the necessity of reviving shipbuilding was discussed, and an Act passed to allow a rebate on certain articles used in the construction of vessels; but so far this legislation has resulted in no practical result whatever. It is now said that an attempt will be made during the present

session to repeal that feature of the old navigation laws which prevents American citizens from buying foreign-built vessels for an American registry, and exacts that the coastwise trade shall be done in American bottoms. Such legislation has long been anxiously desired by the people of Canada, for it will still more stimulate shipbuilding and increase the profits of the shipowners of the Provinces. The Americans are now awakening to the consequences of their shortsighted commercial policy, and can fully appreciate the significance of the warning which Mr. Secretary McCulloch gave them a few years ago:—"It is a well-established fact that the people who build ships navigate them; and that a nation which ceases to build ships ceases of consequence to be a commercial and maritime nation. Unless, therefore, this state of things is altered, the people of the United States must be subject to humiliation and loss. If other branches of industry are to prosper, if agriculture is to be profitable, and manufactures are to be extended, the commerce of the country must be sustained and increased."

Of the future of our maritime industry we need have no fears, while Canada enjoys peace within her borders, and a broad, enlightened policy prevails in her councils. Since the Provinces are no longer isolated from each other, but firmly united for their mutual development and expansion, their progress must be more rapid in the future than in the past. The construction of canals and railways must necessarily give additional employment to her marine, and place it eventually in the very foremost position. Sooner or later, the bulk of the carriage of the trade of the Great West of the United States and Canada must follow the natural route of the St. Lawrence in Canadian ships. The fish, coal, lumber, and grain alone of Canada should give abundant employment to her shipping; for these products of her soil and waters are in ever-increasing demand, and are every day finding new avenues of trade. The coal-fields of Nova Scotia are inexhaustible, and must be developed henceforth to an extent of which the experience of the past few years can give no adequate conception; and even now the proprietors of mines find it difficult to charter vessels to supply the orders they are receiving. The iron exists alongside of the coal in the same province, and there is little doubt that in the course of time iron vessels will be built within the Dominion itself. Between 1860 and 1871, under an ordinary condition of things, British North America doubled her tonnage; and it is safe to predict that, in view of the more rapid development of her commercial and industrial resources under the stimulating

influence of public works and territorial expansion, the increase of her mercantile marine will be still greater within the next decade.

The prospects of the maritime industry of the Dominion were never more brilliant than they are now, and must be viewed with the deepest satisfaction by all who take an interest in the welfare and prosperity of that portion of the British Empire. The same adventurous, courageous spirit that in days of old carried the maritime worthies of England to unknown seas and continents, and has founded new States throughout the habitable globe, still exists in all its pristine vigour among the Canadian people; and as it now impels them to energetic action in building up their commercial and material prosperity, so in the hour of national danger it will animate them to the performance of deeds of "bold emprise."

In consequence of the lateness of the hour, the discussion was adjourned until the next meeting.

AN Ordinary General Meeting of the Institute was held at the Theatre of the Society of Arts on Tuesday, the 4th March, 1873, His Grace the Duke of MANCHESTER, President, in the chair.

Mr. G. R. Godson, in commencing the discussion of Mr. Bourinot's Paper on the Canadian Marine and Fisheries, said there were one or two points in the paper he would like to speak upon. He first wished to state the exact position of the fisheries (this he showed on a map). The main point was the amount of compensation that Canada or England should obtain for the fisheries ceded to the Americans. There seemed, he said, to be some absurd idea that they were of no value; but that was a delusion. The real facts were these: The Americans under their Reciprocity Treaty had the right of fishing in Canadian waters for twelve years. Their returns last year were only \$8,000,000, but in some years previously they made as much as \$15,000,000. Bearing this in mind, he thought Mr. Bourinot placed the compensation to be paid by the Americans at too low a figure, and instead of \$8,000,000 it should have been more like \$1,400,000. He considered the money should go towards the guarantee which England was to give to the Central Pacific Railway Company. The Canadians could simply say then the money was their own because the fisheries were theirs.

Mr. H. E. MONTGOMERIE thought it would scarcely be correct to give the 1½ millions to be paid by America as a guarantee to the Central Pacific Railway Company.

The Noble CHAIRMAN said he thought he might now move that the best thanks of the meeting be given to Mr. Bourinot for his able and instructive paper. As it had been published in full in the *European Mail*, and as several copies of that journal had been distributed carefully on the other side of the Atlantic, he hoped it might have a beneficial effect.

The vote of thanks was carried unanimously, after which Mr. W. WALKER proceeded to read the following Paper:—

## ON THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC POSITION AND PROSPECTS OF THE BRITISH WEST INDIA POSSESSIONS.

1. I propose in the following memoir to consider the social and economic position and prospects of the British intertropical possessions in the Western Hemisphere: although I am sensible that it is difficult satisfactorily to treat, within the necessarily restricted limits of such a paper, a subject which embraces seventeen distinct and separate communities, respecting which moreover full and accurate statistical information is not readily attainable, whilst the recorded observations of recent travellers are of the most desultory and superficial character. I trust it will be clearly understood that in this essay I presume neither to be dogmatical as to opinions nor exhaustive as to facts: my sole object is simply to direct attention to what I believe to be an interesting field for investigation, in the hope that others may correct my mistakes and supply my deficiencies.

2. These dependencies are distinguished from most others in that the African element largely predominates in their populations, owing to the circumstances that their industrial capabilities are essentially agricultural, and that the negro race has been found to be peculiarly adapted, to an extent far beyond the competition of any other, to the cultivation of their soils. But the transference of that race from its native site being accomplished only by violence, and its services secured by coercion, the communities were at first, and for a lengthened period, constituted of the simple elements of owners and slaves. In such a social condition no intricate complications were likely to arise; the fair-skinned owner was the governor, the chattel negro was the governed; and, as a natural and necessary corollary, "society" was composed of the governing class alone. For some time, indeed for a prolonged term of their history, that class was made up of public officers holding their appointments directly from the Crown, and of the proprietors of the soil, who formed a sort of territorial aristocracy, from which the trading class was rigorously excluded. In what are popularly known as "chartered" or settled, in contradistinction to "conquered" or Crown Colonies, the legislative function was confided to the first-named class under a form of constitution modelled upon that of the parent state; the Governor representing the Sovereign, the Council corresponding, to some extent, to the

House of Peers, and the Assembly, as an elected body, constituting the local House of Commons. Such constitutions did not result from the volition of the settlers, but were the emanations of the prerogative of the Crown, embodied in the commissions issued by the Sovereign to the Governors; and the analogy between them and that of the parent state was far from being complete or exact; for instance, the dignity of councillor was not hereditary, and the Council possessed and exercised other functions irrespective of the legislative, such as those of a Privy Council and others which were of a judicial character. On some occasions the two chambers acted together in "grand committee" as it was called; and it would appear that at times the Council not only assumed a high tone of command over the Assembly, and what we should now regard as an undue share of legislative authority, but that it also took cognisance of complaints from individuals.\* It appears, moreover, from an Act passed in 1694 by the Governor-in-Chief and the General Council and General Assembly of the Caribbee Leeward Islands, that cases of disputed elections to the Assembly were to be heard and decided by the Governor and the majority of the Council and Assembly sitting together. The qualification of both electors and representatives was the same in kind, being the possession of a freehold in land. It should be borne in mind that the so-called "chartered" Colonies were originally settled by members of families of ancient lineage and high social position in the mother-country, whose voluntary expatriation, at first stimulated by the glowing reports brought home by Raleigh and his contemporaries, became a necessity during the predominance of the Commonwealth and the temporary overthrow of the monarchy; the character of society therefore became naturally, so far as regards feeling and sympathy, strongly aristocratic, irrespective of the inevitable tendency of an organisation divided only into the two classes of lords and serfs. The early history of these settlements will be found by no means deficient in events of romantic interest, but to refer to them in detail would be incompatible with the scope of this paper.

3. The earliest cultivation attempted by the settlers would appear to have been tobacco, but sugar was introduced not long afterwards,† as we find that the local public officers and even the ministers of religion were paid by fixed quantities of one or both

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\* Woodcock, "Laws and Constitution of W.I. Colonies," 1838.

† The sugar-cane was introduced into Barbadoes from Brazil in 1641; it is said to have been first planted in Hispaniola, or Hayti, having been brought from the Canaries in 1506.

of those staple products ; nay, even the penalties for misdemeanours were prescribed after the same manner, as we read that profane cursing and swearing was punishable with a fine of ten pounds of sugar or tobacco, whilst drunkenness was visited with five times that quantity, or, in default, exposure in the public stocks. A further illustration of the characteristics of those times is to be found in the fact that seventy persons implicated in the rising under Penruddock and Grove, in 1655, were sold in Barbadoes at an average price of 1,550 lbs. of sugar. These white slaves, including clergymen and officers, we may remark, were treated in all respects the same as the negroes ; "they ground in the mills, they attended the furnaces, cultivated the fields, were whipped at whipping-posts, and slept in styes worse than hogs."\* To the above-mentioned staples were subsequently added coffee and cotton.†

4. The constitution and condition of society underwent gradual modifications from the influence of various causes ; for instance, a race of mixed blood gradually arose ; the habits of extravagant expenditure indulged in by the owners of property led to embarrassments which could only be relieved by their becoming debtors to the commercial class, whose interest in the management of the estates which constituted the security for their advances became more and more operative ; and supplies for carrying on the cultivation, in lieu of being imported direct by the owners, were furnished through mercantile agencies established in the Colonies themselves. The amelioration of the stringent penal laws applicable to slaves and others sharing in the hue of the African had its influence in the process ; and when the abolition of the slave trade and of slavery became established facts, it is easy to perceive that the old exclusiveness was doomed, and that the previously existing barriers between classes were for ever broken

\* "England's Slavery, or Barbadoes Merchandise." London. Printed in the 11th year of England's liberty, 1659.

† The cotton famine occasioned by the civil war in the United States gave a temporary impulse to its reproduction in our West India possessions, but it has not been found practicable hitherto to establish it as an exportable staple. In Antigua the quantities are given for 1868, 657,000 lbs.

1869, 353,500 „  
1870, 163,981 „

In British Guiana,—

1863, 15,600 „  
1864, 71,700 „  
1865, 182,020 „  
1866, 157,300 „

I have not at hand the returns for the intermediate years, but in 1871 the export had dwindled down to 12,100 lbs.

down, politically if not socially. Amongst the most prominent features which marked the transition period may be noticed the institution of Colonial bishoprics, the extension of educational efforts, the establishment of banks, both commercial and savings, and the general disbandment of the local militias, in which the freedmen had become qualified to serve. Prior to 1825 the Colonial clergy were by a sort of fiction assumed to be under the spiritual supervision of the Bishop of London for the time being ; and, as it had not been deemed necessary that the persons ordained to any cure of souls should be qualified according to the requirements of the canons of the Church of England,\* it will be readily understood that the institution of local episcopal jurisdictions contributed materially to the improvement of the characteristics of society ; for it was scarcely to be expected that a class of men, who rather conformed to habits which they found in existence, than endeavoured to ameliorate them, should possess powers of persuasion unsupported by the testimony of their personal demeanour. Indeed, in no respect is the contrast more striking than in the spiritual and moral condition of the communities since the introduction of a staff of well-qualified and well-organised clergy, as well as of most respectable ministers of various Nonconformist churches. Hitherto the maintenance of the clergy and provision for the education of the people, in aid, to a greater or lesser extent, of voluntary efforts, have been considered as of public obligation ; but altered views upon this important subject are beginning to prevail, although it seems not improbable that in some instances at any rate concurrent endowment may be preferred to disendowment. In Jamaica, for example, the Church of England has been disestablished and is in gradual process of disendowment, leaving its future constitution to be organised upon the voluntary principle, a sum of £5,000 having been granted towards the endowment fund by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. In British Guiana the subject has not yet come on for discussion, but the approaching termination of the existing legal provision for the maintenance of ministers of religion is causing attention to be directed to it, a Bill to incorporate a synod for the future government of the Church, and including the lay element, having been introduced into the Court of Policy. Trinidad has been recently separated from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Barbadoes, and erected into an independent diocese, the Church being virtually disestablished ; and I believe a similar arrangement is contemplated

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\* Woodcock, "Law and Constitution of W.I. Colonies."

with respect to British Honduras, the Bahama Islands, and some of the Leeward Islands, where public provision for ecclesiastical objects is also ceasing to be made.

5. A most noticeable feature of the changed social constitution of those communities consequent upon the abolition of slavery, consists in the introduction of a variety of exotic races to supply the places of the labourers whose services were withdrawn from the cultivation of the soil. This importation, although vehemently opposed from the first by the benevolent but injudicious friends of the indigenous peasantry, has been found to be so absolutely indispensable to the prosperity of many of these Colonies, that it may be regarded as a settled and permanent arrangement under Government sanction and control. It is impossible not to be struck with the short-sighted policy which long interposed every conceivable species of difficulty in the way of immigration, and even yet is not without its influence in restricting the area of selection and enhancing the cost of the aid thus sought.\* Another indication of social modifications incidental to the momentous change above adverted to was the eagerness with which—in one Colony more especially, British Guiana—the newly-emancipated peasantry hastened to invest their savings in the purchase and occupation of real property. Estates of considerable extent, which the proprietors had no longer the means, or the mortgagees the wish, to keep in cultivation, were bought by associations of negroes, who paid down a portion of the purchase money, leaving the property charged with the balance, and the fact was quoted at the time as a proof of the industry of the people, and an evidence of their fitness to manage their own affairs. But, without going into details, the results were in every, or nearly every, case most unpropitious, if not positively disastrous; and it is now only after the lapse of a third of a century, and by means of legislation of a very exceptional character, that order has begun to be developed out of chaos, and the existing generation of freeholders enabled to enjoy the benefits and recognise the obligations of their position.† I am much gratified in being enabled to quote a paragraph from a very recent Demerara newspaper relative to the position of a joint-

\* "We avowedly promoted also immigration, but with such needless and mischievous restrictions, under a fastidious dread of reviving slave trade, as to incur responsibility for frustrating instead of promoting the main chance of a prosperous transition from slavery into the freedom which we were inaugurating. While suddenly depriving the planters of slaves, we needlessly barred the influx of free labour, a full supply of which was a necessary complement to emancipation."—Sir C. B. Adderley, "Col. Policy and History." Lond. 1869.

† "The Commissioners found the villages generally in a most unsatisfactory

stock sugar estate in one of the finest districts of the Colony. "We understand the villagers of Triumph are getting on very well with their sugar estate ; a few days ago a black man purchased a single share, for which he paid 2,000 dollars in cash. The shareholders have ordered from England upwards of £2,000 worth of new machinery." From private sources I learn that the proprietors of this estate had paid to the Colony the amount which entitled them to a transport (or conveyance) of the property, \$26,000. The number of shareholders is now, I believe, eight. Another source of supply has not been altogether overlooked. It was hoped that it might be found practicable to induce some portion of the negroes of the Southern States of the Union to emigrate to the British West Indies, and I visited Washington with that object in 1862.\* Political considerations interposed to prevent the carrying the scheme out at that time ; but I was strongly impressed likewise with the conviction, from such opportunities as I had of personal communication with them, that the freed slaves were by no means voluntarily disposed to quit the country of which they had the prospect of becoming citizens, by any prospect of bettering their condition elsewhere. Indeed, even the arrangements made with the sanction of the Federal Government to induce the "coloured people" to emigrate to Liberia were bitterly denounced by some of their leaders. The escaped negroes

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state, and in some instances in a deplorable condition ; the houses in the latter cases in ruin and disrepair, and the lands attached to them undrained, uncultivated, and neglected ; the back lands totally abandoned, thereby forcing the owners to lease lands on contiguous estates for the growth of their provisions. Even on those villages where there was no want of drainage, and where provisions grew luxuriantly, we found the means of internal communication most defective, and the most utter disregard for all sanitary considerations. The villages just referred to are those which, with their lands, comprise entire estates, which were bought by communities of the labouring population, varying in number from seventy to one hundred, and were subdivided by them in equal shares, some of which estates have already been, and others are in course of being legally partitioned and transported to the original shareholders or their representatives. There is another class of villages which are those situated on the front lands of estates, and were originally sold to the people by the proprietors with the view of forming a resident population on their plantations. The understanding in these cases seems to have been that the estate was to keep up the drainage and public roads passing through said villages, and the villagers themselves merely to maintain the drains leading from their lots to the main draining trenches of the estates ; but from the estates themselves having in some cases changed hands, and in other cases from the course of the drainage having been altered, this understanding has not in all instances been adhered to, and the villagers have suffered in consequence."—"Report on Villages," May, 1865.

\* "Lord Grey urged the enlistment of free black and coloured labourers from the Southern States, which mode of supply the West India Committee of 1842 had suggested ; but which was somewhat hazardous of international misunderstanding, and could only be effected by small and irregular instalments as occasion might offer."—*Sir C. B. Adderley, ante*, 298.

who settled in Canada during the existence of slavery have also not been lost sight of; and more than one deputation has visited the West Indies to "inquire and report," but hitherto without any substantial result. These facts will, however, serve to illustrate the extent and magnitude of the chronic demand for labour in the larger part of these possessions. Co-operation in trading speculations was also largely tried, but, so far as my own information goes, with no encouraging degree of success; these endeavours are, however, not to be disregarded in any attempt to forecast the future social condition of the communities in which they have been made. Failures in the outset do not necessarily infer the impossibility of ultimate success; and the tendency of such associations to create capital from local resources, and for local purposes, may yet have considerable influence, if wisely directed and prudently managed, upon the progress of the Colonies of which we are treating.

6. Some idea may be formed of the extent of the system of village communities in British Guiana when it is stated that out of a total of 181,492, representing the rural population or peasantry, upwards of 88,000 are returned as inhabitants of villages, being an increase of upwards of 25,000 in the ten years included in the returns of the Census of 1871. Of other Colonies I do not possess sufficient information of recent date to enable me to speak with confidence. But of the villages in Antigua, upon which it was my duty to report officially some thirty years ago, we read in a local paper commenting upon the latest census, 1871, the following graphic description:—"In the majority of instances the plot of land purchased rarely exceeds forty square feet in extent, and on a portion of this a wretched hovel is erected, often containing but one room, and that unfloored and imperfectly ventilated, and in which not unfrequently five or six persons, adults and children of both sexes, sleep together at night." This does not indicate much improvement, but at the same time does not, unfortunately, compare unfavourably with certain recorded illustrations of the habits of the rural population in some parts of England.\*

7. It was unquestionably a grave error of policy on the part of the planters not to have given their labourers at the time of

\* See the *Times* of January, 1873, "A Case in Wiltshire." And again, in that journal for the 23rd May, quoting from the report of the Irish Registrar-General, the subjoined passage descriptive of an Irish cottier's home:—"The Registrar of Louisburgh, Westport, says, I will give an example of the contents of a dilapidated one-room house. A man and his wife with five children (two in scarlatina), a mother-in-law, with a son and daughter and grandchild; two pigs, two donkeys, and some hens."

emancipation, security of tenure to allotments of land upon their estates, and to mix up, as many of them persistently did, the questions of rent and labour; the negro has strong local as well as personal attachments, but if he becomes once unsettled or distrustful, it is difficult to overcome those adverse influences. Still, we must in fairness remember that this is one of those instances in which it is easy to be wise after the time; and under the feelings engendered by the somewhat rough-and-ready method in which slavery was abolished, the planters were, not unnaturally, but little disposed to recognise the newly-acquired social status of their quondam slaves.

8. The one vital condition upon which these Colonies are dependent, speaking generally, not merely for prosperity but for actual existence, is the cultivation of the soil; and the great difficulty in the way of their success is deficiency of population. At present, industry is nearly exclusively devoted to the production of the one article—sugar; but it is self-evident, not only that an enlarged labour market would almost indefinitely augment the returns of that staple, but that it would supplement it by ample contributions of the thousand other valuable products of tropical soils, which the want of hands alone prevents from assuming their proper places in our bills of lading and prices current.

9. In a brief address to the smaller freeholders of British Guiana, which it became my duty to prepare in connection with the local Exhibition held in Georgetown in 1871, I called attention to the immense diversities of useful products available to them with comparatively little labour or capital, instancing amongst others, varieties of farines, dried bananas, arrowroot, and *tous les mois*, cassaripe, and other articles capable of contributing in various degrees and ways to the food supplies of other countries. A curious illustration of the importance of common things was adduced in the circumstance of a Spanish Creole, of Trinidad, who converted old soap-boxes into beehives, from which he derived bees' wax, a commodity valued at from £7 10s. to £8 10s. per cwt. and of which the exports from Jamaica in one year, prepared in equally primitive fashion, was valued at £5,575. Of leading articles, such as elastic gums, tobacco, cocoa—of which 6,500,000lbs. were exported from Trinidad alone in 1870\*—coffee, Indian corn, cocoa-nut oil, tanning and dyeing substances, and especially of vegetable fibres, it seems almost needless to speak, they are only

\* The declared value of cocoa imported in 1870 was £371,997; in 1871, £396,151; and in 1872, £467,464. The consumption has been steadily increasing for some time.—*Times*, January 20, 1873.

samples of an inexhaustible stock of natural resources hitherto in no way adequately turned to account in many of these dependencies, and peculiarly within the capacity of the agricultural population to render profitable.

10. The future of any community can hardly be considered satisfactorily provided for, when its chief element of vitality consists in the cultivation of a single staple, and especially when, as in the case of sugar, the area of cultivation of the cane is becoming yearly more extended and scattered, and the extraction of sugar from the beet is assuming a formidably competitive character. Even the Colony of Honduras is gradually superseding mahogany cutting by the cultivation of the cane; whilst, as regards beetroot sugar, irrespective of the efforts making to establish it as a native industry in this country, we find that the imports in the months of January 1869, 1870, 1871, and 1872 respectively, were as under :

1869.....	4,580 tons.	1871.....	21,750 tons.	For the five weeks
1870.....	11,770 ,,"	1872.....	26,215 ,,"	ending Feb. 3.

The California newspapers of November, 1870, announced the production of the first ton of crystallised beetroot sugar there, manufactured by home-made machinery; and I am enabled to quote the following from the circular of an eminent Liverpool firm as to the general prospects of beetroot sugar:—"The crop of 1872-73 is not likely to exceed that of last year, owing to unfavourable weather; that of last year was disappointing, owing to the expectations of a short crop from the West Indies not being realised. The beetroot industry is now extending all over the Continent of Europe. Many additional factories, of monster size, have been erected in France, capable of producing from 5,000 to 20,000 tons per annum. In Europe production has been doubled within the last few years, and now exceeds 1,000,000 tons, and during the next five or ten years will probably reach 2,000,000 tons, equal to the present consumption of the whole world. In Holland, where it has only existed a few years, 5 or 6 new factories were started last year. In Rome a company has been patronised by the Italian Government; and there are several joint-stock companies in the United States. England alone lags behind—only one isolated experimental but successful manufactory at Lavenham, and not a single new company announced for the cultivation of beet sugar and its contingent products." Canada may now be included in the list of countries where beet cultivation for the manufacture of sugar has been commenced.

11. A very exceptional case of great variety in the exports of

local products may be instanced in Jamaica, where Sir John P. Grant, the Governor, remarks, in alluding to the returns of actual acreage under cultivation in every sort of produce, "The result will, I believe, surprise those who have been in the habit of regarding Jamaica as a mere sugar-producing island." In the list we find annatto, arrowroot, bamboos, bees' wax, cassava, cocoa-nuts, coffee, bananas and plantains, ginger, lime-juice, pimento, walking-sticks, succades, tamarinds, tortoiseshell, yams, bitterwood, fustic, and logwood. This list seems to have excited the emulation of the inhabitants of Dominica, who are quite conscious of the insufficiency of their staple, low-quality muscovado, to compete successfully with vacuum pans, central refineries, and beet-root sugar.\*

12. Should, however, the time ever arrive when the capital now invested in the West Indian Colonies in the production of sugar shall be withdrawn to any serious extent, before other remunerative products shall be developed to induce the continuance of its employment there, the consequences can hardly be other than most disastrous to the interests of all classes in those communities. There would be, no doubt, an element of danger in the mere accumulation of physical strength in such communities, namely, that it might overbear the proportion of legislative and administrative intelligence available; for, under existing impressions as to their climatic drawbacks, the West Indies seem unlikely to become the permanent abodes of proportionate numbers of men of European birth, although I cannot myself see any adequate reason why a class of smaller landed proprietors should not establish themselves there in a position of comparative comfort, if not of positive luxury. The remark of the President of the Virgin Islands upon this point I believe to be quite as applicable to many, if not most, of the other Colonies. He says, "I think I may safely add, that I have seldom seen a better opportunity than is presented in Tortola for a few men of practical experience, having a little capital to commence with, to make a comfortable livelihood, and in a few years to add considerably to their original capital in a healthy tropical climate." The deficiency of supplies of live stock of all kinds, and of garden and farm produce, is a chronic matter of complaint throughout these Colonies, and not merely affects the comfort but enhances the cost of living there. It must, moreover, be borne in mind that capital has a natural tendency to flow wherever profit is to be realised, and consequently, that a greater

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\* Dominican newspaper, August, 1871.

command of labour would undoubtedly induce many to extend, and some to begin, its employment in those naturally rich and beautiful and highly-endowed regions.\*

18. During the continued existence of the slave trade between Africa and the Spanish and Portuguese Colonies, such occasional accessions of this class of labourers as were received through the instrumentality of the British cruisers were highly valued, and assuredly it cannot be proved that any but beneficial results accrued to the liberated Africans themselves. It would appear that Her Majesty's cruisers still unhappily find employment on the east coast of Africa in endeavouring to check the slave trade, and what is somewhat surprising, that the Africans thereby liberated are conveyed to places where they are maintained at the cost of the Imperial Exchequer. If this be so, there ought to be no difficulty in relieving that much-enduring animal, the British taxpayer, to this extent at least; whilst all will cordially unite in the fervent hope that the enterprise undertaken by that estimable man and able administrator, Sir Bartle Frere, may be crowned with speedy and complete success. Of the free immigrations actually established, the most important in character, although not numerically, is that from Madeira, whose inhabitants combine great natural shrewdness and intelligence with peculiar aptitude for agricultural labour, and the valuable personal qualities of thrift and perseverance; hence they rapidly took positions amongst the possessors of landed and household property, and of shipping, as well as amongst merchants, traders, and artisans. The total number received in the West Indies is given in the report of the Emigration Commissioners for 1871 at 35,726; of these a small proportion was from Cape de Verdes, and a few came from the Azores: of the whole number, 29,586 are debited to British Guiana. Next to these come the natives of China, of whom 16,222 are returned as having arrived up to 1866 inclusive, when the immigration seems to have ceased; they are generally intelligent and industrious, but alloyed with a large proportion of an idle and predatory element: last of all, the natives of India, amounting to upwards of 187,000, more to be depended upon for steadiness of work, but not so robust in thews and sinews. Each of these classes, it cannot be doubted, will, in varying degrees, affect the social condition and

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\* Although not strictly within the scope of this paper, I may here refer to Wallace's glowing description of the attractions of the country bordering on the Rio Negro, in the interior of Guiana. See "Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro." London, 8vo. 1853, p. 334, *et seq.*; the passage is quoted at length in the Appendix (A).

prospects of the communities in which it abides; but the influx of the two first-named has been checked, owing to the operation of different causes. In Madeira it was the wide-spread distress occasioned by the failure of the vine cultivation, and the pressure of population upon the means of subsistence, which led to the exodus of so many thousands of the peasantry; but that reason no longer exists. There has been, however, perhaps no more remarkable illustration of the benefits resulting from a change of spheres of labour induced by circumstances, than in the case of these people. Originally uneducated themselves, and indifferent to the education of their children, content with the coarsest fare and the most squalid accommodation, their social progress has nevertheless been steady and persistent: better clothing, superior diet, dwellings inferior to none, liberal provision for the improvement of their children, have distinctively characterised the course of the domiciliation of the Madeirans in the West Indies, and especially in British Guiana. Of the capability of the Chinese in like manner to become prosperous Colonists, our experience affords sufficient proofs, although it is to be regretted they do not exist upon a more extended scale,\* whilst diplomatic difficulties have for the

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\* About nine years have elapsed since the commencement of a Chinese village settlement upon one of the islands in the River Demerara, which received the name of "Hope Town," in compliment to the gallant Admiral Sir James Hope, at that time Commander-in-Chief of the Naval Forces in North America and the West Indies, who paid it a visit of inspection.

From a report subsequently made to the Governor by the Stipendiary Magistrate of the District, we gather the following particulars. The report is dated in September, and mentions that heavy rains had delayed the occupation of the lands until the month of June, since which date 150 settlers, originally imported as agricultural labourers under indenture, had constructed rainproof dwellings in eighteen allotments, and cleared more than sixty acres of heavily-timbered land. They were all engaged in the manufacture of charcoal, fifteen large furnaces having been erected and ten others being in progress. Each of these must have required a large amount of labour, as their walls were of solid earth, from three to five feet in thickness: they were covered with substantial thatched roofs, and would contain from fifty to one hundred barrels of charcoal, of far superior quality to any previously manufactured either by Creoles or Madeirans; the produce was equal to 1,700 barrels per month, which was expected soon to be increased to 3,000.

The settlers did not contemplate planting on a large scale until they should be sufficiently numerous to undertake the drainage of the whole settlement effectively; and they were also desirous of first repaying the Government loan advanced to enable them to commence operations, the sale of charcoal being of course the most promptly available means.

They all expressed themselves contented, hopeful of success, and not desirous of returning to estates' labour; they talked of bringing out their relatives from China at their own expense. They only complained of the difficulty of obtaining supplies of fresh meat, to which they had been accustomed, but they were very healthy; some already possessed pigs and poultry, which would be increased when their rice-grounds began to bear. They were anxious to have a school for their children. I regret that I have been unable to obtain any more recent authentic information as to the progress of this interesting experi-

present suspended the augmentation of that useful class of immigrants. There is, however, I am happy to learn, a prospect of the reopening of the source of supply afforded by access to the Chinese population, albeit upon terms more onerous and stringent than have been hitherto stipulated for. It is, I believe, understood, that if the planters are willing to enter into agreements such as the Spanish authorities have conceded, it may be practicable to admit them again to share in the competition for Chinese labourers. Even the immigration from the East Indies is now attended by increasing hindrances and drawbacks, partly ascribable to the enlarged and more diversified demand for labour in that Empire itself, and partly to the jealousy with which such temporary expatriation has ever been regarded by the local authorities, although the return of the immigrants after a stated period of service at the cost of the importing communities has been guaranteed and faithfully carried out. The experiment is, I am informed, to be once more tried of introducing labourers from the Madras as well as from the Bengal territory; in connection with which it is worthy of notice that by way of compensation for relinquishing the introduction of Africans, the French were some years ago permitted, as the Dutch have also more recently been, to recruit their labour market from the British territories, thus entering into a formidable competition with our own Colonists.\* Malta also is under consideration as a field for immigrants. I am under the impression that this experiment was tried at some time previously to 1842, shortly after emancipation, but it was not successful. If my recollection be accurate, however, it was at that time merely a private speculation, and not under Government control.

14. Each of the above-mentioned races has already contributed, pretty much in the order in which it has been mentioned, to the

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ment. For some years past there has been a large influx of these people to the Pacific States of the American Union, and if they can be domiciled in the Southern States, the ultimate restoration of the prosperity of those States may be confidently predicted. Considerable numbers have passed into British Columbia, and it seems probable that they may be largely employed in the construction of the Canada Pacific Railroad. Still more recently I observe that the Samana Bay Company are said to contemplate their introduction with the view of enabling them to turn their newly-acquired possessions to profitable account. The possible effect of the migration of such a people to the Western hemisphere becomes of itself a most interesting theme of speculation.

\* Even before this right was formally conceded to France by treaty, it was computed that between thirty and forty thousand natives of the Madras province had been smuggled to Réunion (Bourbon) through Pondicherry; and with respect to the treaty itself, Mr. Stephen Cave pointedly remarked: "But the fact is, we give up everything and get nothing." Whatever may have been the errors of his late Imperial Majesty, neglect of the French Colonies, or indifference to their interests, cannot be numbered amongst his failings.

important end of creating an intelligent and influential middle class of society, a feature in which that of the West India Colonies generally has been hitherto notably deficient; and when such a class shall become freely distributed over the rural districts, instead of being, as at present, chiefly found amongst the urban or village populations, a great step will have been achieved towards ensuring the future prosperity of the communities.

15. The greatly altered conditions in the constitution of society have led to organic modifications in the system of local government. Some of the dependencies in which, upon their original settlement, the constitutional forms of the mother-country were adopted, having become satisfied of their inappropriateness to existing circumstances, have acceded to arrangements of a simpler character, and under which the influence of the Executive Government will be more operative; thus approximating towards the model of the Colonies conquered from foreign powers, whose legislative institutions were preserved, and have been maintained with but comparatively little alteration—a circumstance to which their more rapid and relatively more complete recovery from the shocks of emancipation and free trade may be attributed. On the other hand, it is not unreasonable to anticipate that in such last-mentioned possessions the gradual creation of a middle-class of holders of real property will lead to a greater development of the democratic element, and the consequent substitution of more direct representation in the forms of local government. The question of qualification is not unattended with difficulty, but the soundest principle in regard to such communities would seem to be that of the old common law, namely, the possession of land in the country, or of houses in towns.

16. It seems to be worthy of notice that even in the island of Barbadoes, where the ancient landmarks have been preserved intact in a remarkable degree, a feeling appears to exist in some quarters favourable to the substitution of a single legislative chamber.\* In Jamaica, again, there is considerable opposition yet to the changes carried out under the vigorous and efficient administration of Sir John Peter Grant. Without presuming to pronounce any positive opinion as to the question at issue, the fact would seem to be indisputable that since the date of such changes, the condition and prospects of the island are in marked and gratifying contrast to those which it previously exhibited.

17. One very interesting point of comparison may be incident-

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\* *Barbadoes Globe*, October, 1872.

ally noted between the social aspects of those communities under the old state of things, as previously described, and that which they have gradually assumed. West India hospitality was proverbial, and every traveller was certain to be favourably impressed by it. But in those days, as down to a much more recent period in the Southern States of the American Union, it was essentially of a feudal character. The proprietors themselves then dwelt upon their plantations, and were content to live and die amongst their own people. Communication with the old country was neither frequent nor convenient, and there was therefore but little temptation to quit the delightful climate and abundant ease of what was looked upon as home. But the course of events gradually but surely changed those habits ; the family mansions became deserted, as the means of keeping them up became circumscribed ; managers succeeded owners in charge of the estates, and were not only limited in income, but liable to be suddenly and unexpectedly removed. Yet substantially the feeling still exists, and permeates all classes of society ; it would be rare, indeed, for the traveller to be refused such hospitality as the means of the host can afford, whether he visit the employer's house or the labourer's hut ; whilst every case of privation, of distress or suffering, elicits such general and substantial evidence of practical sympathy as proves society to be sound at the core, and to be rather varied in its constituents than deteriorated in its characteristics. Nor ought we to overlook the spirit in which every appeal for support to any object of a national character has been responded to by those communities. The relief of the sufferers by famine in Ireland, and from the mutiny in India, and the national memorial to the late Prince Consort, may be cited as three of the many occasions on which their inhabitants, of every rank and class and race, came forward with their contributions in a manner which can never be forgotten by those who had personal experience of the circumstances.

18. In attempting to treat the somewhat perplexing question of the social and economic future of these valuable and interesting portions of the Imperial dominions, it is impossible to ignore the fact that national views upon Colonial policy have undergone a complete revulsion. So far from being eager to acquire or to establish new, or to extend the limits of old dependencies, the prevailing feeling seems to be one of indifference, if not of alienation ; and although it may be argued that such feeling originates in ignorance, the difficulty of removing that ignorance leaves it very influential with the mass of the people: but we may indulge the

hope that the Royal Colonial Institute will be one, and not the least efficient, agent in creating a more healthy tone of public opinion. The true policy to ensure the future prosperity of the group with which we have to deal, would seem to be to facilitate the introduction of races physically qualified to undertake agricultural labour, and to encourage their permanent settlement, and that of capitalists by whom such labour could be made available. The policy of encouraging the Indian immigrants to commute their right to a free return passage for grants of land has for some time been recognised, but not as yet acted upon to any great extent. In British Guiana two estates have been purchased with that object, and in Trinidad it is said in a recent paper, that numerous grants have been made: the total number of Indian immigrants who up to the end of 1871 have applied for, or have actually taken possession of, land in commutation of their right to a free return passage to India is 285; the lots are of ten acres each, and the pecuniary *bénéfice* to the Colony, direct and indirect, arising from the experiment is calculated at not less than £27,500.\* It is obviously, therefore, a question worthy of the best attention of the local Governments specially interested. As the case actually stands, the larger Colonies, in which British capital is liberally, and upon the whole profitably invested, will probably remain relatively prosperous and improving, whilst the smaller communities will continue to be characterised by a greater or lesser degree of stagnation, there being nothing to encourage the influx of capital from without to stimulate production, and their local energies and means being inadequate to the creation of that indispensable element of prosperity. Jamaica, for example, is undoubtedly exhibiting indications of revival from the state of prostration into which it had fallen; but in so far at any rate as the production of the staple commodity is concerned, the introduction of labourers whose services can be depended upon by the landholders is evidently essential, although it has not hitherto been carried out to anything like the extent of the enterprise exhibited by Guiana and Trinidad. The revenue for 1868-9 and that for 1869-70 were nearly the same, £441,439 against £440,522, whilst in 1848 the diminution in the July quarter alone, as contrasted with that of the preceding year, amounted to no less than £10,502; and even only three years ago it is officially stated that the financial position of the Colony was that of imminent insolvency. But the undeveloped capacity of this Colony for still greater prosperity may be suffi-

\* *Thirty-second General Report of Emigration Commissioners, 1871.*

ciently judged of by the statement that whilst its area is returned at 2,720,000 acres, only 528,806 are under cultivation. The cinchona plantations may be now pronounced a complete success, and will constitute a most valuable addition to the staples of the Colony; moreover, 600 plants of Assam tea arrived in good order during the year, and have been successfully planted out, and tobacco, it is stated, may possibly be numbered amongst the exports of the current year, owing to the stimulus given to its production by the settlement in Jamaica of refugees from Cuba.

19. With regard to the smaller islands, on the other hand, one administrator of the Government observes that "in these small West India Colonies it is something to be able to show that there has been no retrogression: in our case (St. Lucia) there has been even some improvement," and this was maintained in 1870. Another (Grenada) says that "the trade of the Colony, both as regards the imports and exports, has been gradually declining during the last five years, but a change may, however, be looked for, in consequence of the improved tone in the produce markets." It is gratifying to find this anticipation verified as regards 1870, when the value of exports had increased by £5,213: the value of the sugar was £54,928, and of cocoa, £50,406. A third (Tobago) bears testimony to "the unimpaired energy with which the local planters struggle against the discouragements and difficulties with which they have had to contend." A marked improvement is recorded in 1870 as respects the cultivation of the cane and manufacture of sugar. The Virgin Islands have long since ceased to produce sugar for exportation. In Dominica, the very fertility of the soil is adduced as one of the reasons of the financial poverty of the island: agricultural labourers, on wages obtained for two or three days' work, can subsist for the whole week. Squatting is also prevalent both on Crown lands and on abandoned private estates; hence when labour is most required, in crop time, it is often difficult to obtain it. In 1870, however, the Lieut.-Governor remarks that he considers the island to be slowly but steadily progressing. The question of squatting, which is of practical importance in more than one West India Colony, appears to have been boldly grappled with and adjusted in Jamaica. The Bahamas and Turk's Islands are not sugar-producing Colonies: of the former the Governor states, "the general condition of the Colony is far from satisfactory," but in 1870 he was able to meet the Legislature under more encouraging circumstances; and of the latter, in 1869, the President says, "I fear I cannot report very hopefully on the general state of this Colony," and for 1870 he expresses an even

more unfavourable opinion. Montserrat seems to have been stationary, there being but four or five sugar estates that are efficiently worked. St. Vincent; St. Kitts, which, next to Barbadoes, may be regarded as the most independent of auxiliary labour, and, like it, is, to use the common expression, "cultivated like a garden;" and Nevis, its near neighbour, may be included amongst the improving Colonies, great benefits being there anticipated from the introduction of the federal system of administration.

20. In relation to the general question of the prospects of these Colonies, the operation of other influences must not be altogether lost sight of: it is, I believe, incontestable, that the inhabitants, especially those of African descent, have of late years suffered from some types of disease, formerly either unknown or but of rare occurrence,\* whilst their physical constitutions, from insufficient and innutritious aliment, and inadequate house accommodation, have become less capable of resisting or of rallying from the attacks of disease.† Moreover, the necessity of making public provision for the support of paupers, including lunatics and lepers, has become progressively more urgent, and is now generally felt to press heavily upon a class, some of whose members, like their compeers in this country, are themselves but little above pauperism in the social scale. The gradual and now almost entire withdrawal of the pecuniary outlay on the part of the mother country for military defence, for the clergy, and for educational purposes, lightly as it is talked of or written about *here*, is undeniably a weighty addition to the burden of self-support which those communities are now called upon to assume.

21. Dr. Hancock, quoted in Schomburgk's "Description of

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\* A remarkable circumstance is the recent occurrence in British Guiana of several fatal cases of hydrophobia, for it was formerly always assumed that this terrible disease was, if not impossible, certainly unknown in intertropical countries.

† The report of the Surgeon-General of British Guiana on the Public Hospital of Demerara and Essequibo for the year 1859, developed some very startling conclusions with respect to the physical condition of the indigenous population. It was there shown that the proportion of cases of this class treated in the hospital had increased from one-sixth in 1849 to one-half in 1859; whilst the improved arrangements for the care of the immigrants upon estates had resulted in a diminution of the proportion, notwithstanding their largely increased numbers, to little more in 1859 than one-third of what it had been in 1849. The Surgeon-General ascribed this deterioration to the want of sufficient drainage, the state of disrepair of their habitations, and to the neglect of a sufficient consumption of animal food; and he recorded his opinion that what is commonly termed the Creole labouring population is gradually falling off as regards health, strength, and aptitude for labour; and these views were strongly corroborated by reports from persons in charge of the public dispensaries in the rural districts.

British Guiana," asserts, that during his long practice on the coast he "never met with an instance of genuine tubercular phthisis, nor a single case of calculus, generated there;" but the reports of the Surgeon-General and of the Health Officer of the city of Georgetown in British Guiana, for some time past, bear testimony to a less satisfactory sanitary condition of the urban population, and it has been suggested to me, that on the one hand the atmosphere is less saturated with humidity, and on the other, the trade winds less regular than heretofore; it is earnestly to be hoped that the attention of the medical profession may be directed to this subject, with the view of bringing to the test of careful and scientific observation the accuracy or the fallacy of these assumptions. In order to avoid enlarging this paper to an inconvenient extent, I propose to throw, in this and other instances, some documentary illustrations into the shape of an Appendix.

22. The important question of the progress of population in these Colonies is very difficult of determination owing to the want of accurate registration, a drawback which, however, is believed to be in gradual course of removal. There is a prevalent though perhaps somewhat indefinite impression, that the African type of the population is decreasing, and that this partly arises from indifference to the conservation of life, not merely amongst the aged and infirm, but amongst infants. Indeed, suggestions of the prevalence of infanticide are of by no means infrequent occurrence in the local newspapers,\* but, so far as I am aware, the only instance in which a positive decrease of the population generally seems to be disclosed by the latest census returns, is in the case of the Island of Antigua, where it is alleged that, comparing the census of 1871 with that of 1861, after making allowances for both emigration and immigration, the decrease was close upon 2,000—a serious proportion in a population amounting in round numbers to

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\* It is consolatory to think that the subjoined paragraph from a Jamaica newspaper does not apply to the British possessions or any decrease of the infant population would be *unsatisfactorily* accounted for!

"Jacmel, November 1, 1871. A negro woman has just been arrested, who, according to unquestionable evidence, has been eating young children; twenty-six are known to have been disposed of by this monster, in this way. The practice is not so uncommon in Hayti as is generally supposed." It is remarkable that since this note was set up in type, the statement it contains receives some support in a most interesting and valuable letter from the special correspondent of the *Times*, dated Havana, February 2, and published in the *Times* of the 20th. Alluding to the condition of Hayti under native Government, he says he has been assured "on good authority" that cases of cannibalism are not unfrequent.

some 85,000 or 86,000. A very painful impression is produced by the perusal of the reports of the district medical officers in Antigua, dated in November and December last, as to the condition in every respect, of the peasantry. One or two illustrations are all I shall attempt to introduce here, feeling that the paper has already trespassed upon the limits of your patience. In reply to the interrogatories of Dr. Freeland, M. N. answers that she does not know her age; she has had thirteen children, none living, the last having died three days previously; four of these children were by one father, four by another, and the remaining five by five different fathers. N. R. had nine children, only two alive; the latest two were by the same father; each of the other seven had a different father. In one of the villages, one woman—married—had eighteen children, of whom only four survived. Two of the children are not by her husband, although he supports them. The great disproportion in other instances between the births and deaths has led to doubts as to the accuracy of the registers. I may add that the census reports for 1871, in so far as I have had the opportunity of consulting them in relation to several Colonies, are far in advance of their precursors in point of fulness and accuracy.\*

23. The progress of elementary education in these Colonies has been since the emancipation of the slaves as substantial and extensive as was perhaps to be expected, if even, as there can be no doubt, it still leaves very much to be desired. Comparing the report of Mr. La Trobe, shortly after that epoch, with the results of recent inspections, there is ample evidence as to the consistent and persevering efforts made by all the religious denominations, and which have been liberally aided by pecuniary grants from the public chests; and in several Colonies institutions for the higher training of selected students are in active and successful operation. Of the mental capacity of the native children to avail themselves of these advantages there can be no question; the greater difficulty has been to provide an adequate supply of qualified teachers, but in this respect a marked improvement is to be recorded. A most valuable and interesting Report upon Education in Trinidad, by Mr. P. J. Keenan, Commissioner of National Education in Ireland, has been published in a Blue-book of 150 folio pages, embodying a new scheme for general elementary education, well worthy of consideration by the local authorities of other West Indian communities. A scheme very similar in many respects, but somewhat more decidedly denominational in its character, had been pre-

viously adopted in British Guiana. In those Colonies, however, as in the mother-country, a very serious obstacle to carrying out any general system of elementary education is found in the want of power to compel the attendance of children at *some* school. Having, in years gone by, taken some personal share in the discussion of this most important subject, I trust my testimony may be accepted as to the earnest desire of the planting body to cordially co-operate with the efforts of the West India Governments in its promotion.

24. The amazing fertility of those territories, the vastness of their yet undeveloped areas, taken collectively, and the sparseness of their respective populations, always excepting the Island of Barbadoes, about the size of the Isle of Wight, with a population said to be equal to nearly 1,000 to the square mile, whilst British Guiana has not three to the square mile of our assumed limits, forbid the assumption that they have attained the culminating point of their career, and still more that they are on the path of declension from natural and inevitable causes.

25. There are those who look forward to the inhabitants of mixed blood becoming the predominant and, in fact, governing race, both whites and negroes gradually receding, from different causes, in the scale of political and social influence. On the other hand, we have the expressed conviction of scientific physiologists that no hybrid race can be maintained beyond the third or fourth generation without intermixture: they must intermarry with the pure races or die out.\* It is alleged, moreover, that hybrids between the negro and Latin races are more fertile than those between negroes and persons of Teutonic or Scandinavian origin.† The question as to the extent to which our various immigrant races may amalgamate with the Creole population is one of considerable practical interest. Hitherto, so far as comes within my means of information, such instances are exceptional, but I was much struck by the allusion in the speech of Mr. Stephen Cave on Slavery in Cuba, in the last session of Parliament, to the fact of prolific

\* A passage in the letter of the Special Correspondent of the *Times* at Havana, already alluded to in a note, bears to some extent upon this point: "Negroes alone of pure African blood are considered to be fit for agricultural labour; while Hindu and Chinese coolies, of whom there are estimated to be 60,000 in Cuba alone, cannot do the same kind or amount of work; and as to their children, all are said to dwindle in size, strength, spirit, and energy with each new generation. First importations are useful, but nothing can be made out of their children, or the produce of mixed connections; they often, however, gain in intelligence what they lose in strength." The writer adds, that slaves from Africa are still smuggled into Cuba, and that the demand is so great that the value of a negro is now from £250 to £300, and even reaches £400.

† Dr. Knox, "Races of Men," London, 1850.

unions having taken place between Chinese men and negro women in Trinidad. I am aware of a few such cases between Chinese men and Madeiran women in British Guiana. The conclusion at which I have arrived upon the main question is, that the progressive material prosperity and political importance of those communities will depend upon the continued influx of the European races as the leavening material indispensable to the healthy and vigorous vitality of the body corporate. At the same time, the mixed race will and must, with the help thus afforded, acquire and exercise a larger proportionate influence in the administration of local affairs. There need be no antagonism in their relative positions; already the social barriers are weakening and becoming less recognisable under the influence of the facilities of intercourse with what even the natives habitually call "home," and the higher scale of education within their reach in the schools and universities of Europe.

26. A remarkable feature in the recent commercial improvement of these Colonies is the rapid development of their trade with the United States. Until within the last few years the American cargoes of lumber and food supplies were paid for in cash and old metal; now the British and French colonies have been alike finding their best market in the Northern States; but how far this outlet is to be permanently depended upon, can be only determined after longer experience.

27. I am enabled to append to this paper a very carefully elaborated approximate account current of the transactions of the sugar estates in British Guiana during the year 1871, which was published in the *Royal Gazette* of March 25, 1872. I do not, for I am not in a position to do so, guarantee the accuracy of the figures and calculations, but I have not met with any communication challenging their good faith from any one in or connected with the Colony. (Appendix C.)

28. It may be noticed that I have omitted all allusion to the aboriginal races still to be met with in these dependencies. Interesting as they undoubtedly are in various respects, they cannot sensibly affect the social or politico-economical aspects of the communities of which they form part. It is generally, and I believe correctly, assumed that their numbers are gradually diminishing, but a recent traveller\* asserts that in Dominica their numbers have considerably increased within the last few years, which is, as the author says, a remarkable if not unique circumstance.

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\* "Transatlantic Sketches," Grenville J. Chester, B.A., 8vo., London, 1869.

29. The desire of the American people to extend their territory, immense as it actually is, and especially their anxiety to secure a *pied à terre* in some part of the West India Archipelago, cannot reasonably be doubted, nor is it of recent growth, for it is strongly associated with their avowed jealousy of the existence, upon the Western continent, of a community in political connection with any European power. It is true that the negotiations for the acquisition of the Danish Islands have for the present fallen through, but this is no proof that the determination to carry out such a policy is even weakened, much less abandoned; and if the purchase of Alaska was sanctioned, of which the object and value could be only and exclusively political, it is most unlikely that any opportunity of establishing themselves in positions offering much more varied attractions and advantages will be neglected. As there may be those to whom this idea may appear far-fetched and chimerical, I make two or three quotations from the communications of the *Times*' Washington Correspondent. In January, 1869, "the House of Representatives at Washington had an interesting debate upon the subject of acquiring possession of various West India Islands. It resulted in a decision not to pursue the matter further; but is important in showing how firm a hold the idea of possessing the entire American continent has taken upon a good many of our political leaders."

Again, "Mr. Sumner believes, however, that both Cuba and Canada will be peaceably annexed to the Union within ten years, and that we shall also absorb Mexico, the West Indies, and the whole North American continent."

In May, 1870, "the President expresses his conviction that San Domingo will be annexed, and that if put to the vote at this moment there would be the two-thirds majority in the Senate required, and one or two to spare."

I may also recall the verbal passage-at-arms between Earl Granville and Mr. Reverdy Johnson at the inaugural banquet of this Institute; and as collateral testimony to the fact that such a possible contingency has attracted attention in other quarters, I append to this paper an article which appeared in the course of last year in a leading Canadian newspaper.\* (Appendix D.)

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\* I may add that since the foregoing portion of this paper was written, the negotiation for the lease by an American Company of the Bay of Samana, in San Domingo, has been carried out to a successful issue, thus effecting the object so much at the heart of the Executive Government of the States, without involving them in any actual political responsibility—unless it should be found at any time hereafter desirable to assume it: it is, in short, the insertion of the thin edge of the wedge. (Appendix E, F.)

80. It would probably be argued that as material benefits will doubtless accrue to all populations which may come under American domination, we ought rather to wish them God-speed than repine at their progress, and such a sentiment would no doubt be in entire accordance with doctrines which tend to raise or depress all nations alike to one uniform and equal level, so far as human agency can compass such an end ; but looking at it from the rightful standpoint of our national position, the question must be regarded very differently, for we are, or ought to be, able to do all our American kinsmen can do, and it is our assigned privilege and our peculiar duty to do it. The world has never seen an Empire to be compared with that which might exist under the benign sway of Victoria, and be handed down, not merely with undiminished splendour but with the elements of ever-expanding greatness, to her descendants, if the sound and true policy of cherishing and extending the settlement of her energetic and enterprising people in distant lands had been honestly and firmly carried out ; "lengthening her cords and strengthening her stakes," in lieu of discountenancing in every way the establishment of new branches of the national family, lest, forsooth, these should entail upon the parent State some inconvenient responsibilities in regard to our foreign relations. I am quite sensible that such views are very old-fashioned, if not obsolete ; but for my own part I fully share in the strong hope expressed by a quaint and amusing writer, now perhaps well-nigh forgotten, that "the national feeling which has so long kept us a distinct people in all our habits, feelings, and principles, may long continue to be cherished ; and that the sound and sufficient sentiment of love of country may never be laughed out of countenance by the vain and visionary nonsense of universal philanthropy."\*

81. There is something so attractive and, in the abstract, so sound, in the principle of federation, that it is not surprising its application should have been contemplated in relation to the West India Islands. There are, no doubt, substantial difficulties in the way, although it would be rash indeed to infer that they must always prove insuperable. For example, the great essential need of most of these possessions is population. Barbadoes, on the other hand, has a redundant population, but is by no means willing to part with any except such as would be scarcely more acceptable elsewhere. But Barbadoes would certainly, and not unreasonably, be averse to assume any portion of the cost of providing her sister but poorer Colonies with the labour they so much require ; indeed she

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\* Matthews' "Diary of an Invalid." London, 1820.

seems to object to affording any facilities for the admission of competitors to her own labour market, in the face of facts which point distinctly to the rapid approach of the time when her area will be inadequate to the maintenance of her people. Upon this subject, however, I propose to include in the Appendix an abstract of a very interesting and carefully prepared Report of Governor Rawson, recently made public. Again, the political and judicial constitutions of these Colonies are so various that fundamental changes must be effected before the general application of any uniform system could be substituted. Allusion has been already made to the existence of a federal legislature in the Leeward Islands towards the close of the seventeenth century; an attempt was made to revive that arrangement by a late distinguished and philanthropic Governor,\* about thirty years ago: he failed in the attempt, from local opposition, but was, nevertheless, so satisfied of its expediency, that he repeated the experiment when subsequently entrusted with the government of the Windward Islands; he, however, had to relinquish office before his efforts bore fruit, and his successor did not adopt his views. The present Governor-in-Chief of the Leeward Islands has been more successful, an Act "for the federation and general government of the Leeward Islands," having received Her Majesty's assent and come into operation. The provisions of the Act are sufficiently simple and abundantly comprehensive; its principle is distinguished from that of the original federation Act mainly in that it practically neutralises the autonomy of the several communities, whereas that was specially reserved and protected by the Act No. 28 of 1705, intituled, "an Act to settle general councils and assemblies for the Charibb Islands, in America, and to secure to each particular island its own peculiar laws and legal customs." Time alone can show the results of the practical working of this scheme, which is after all only an expansion of the idea embodied in the commissions constituting a Governor and Commander-in-Chief of each of the two groups denominated respectively the Windward and Leeward Islands. With regard to judicial matters also, attempts have been made at the instance of the Home Government to establish Circuit Courts, but with only partial

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\* "Sir Willian Colebrooke once attempted such a congress in these islands, without superseding the local legislatures, in hopes of introducing some degree of homogeneity of ideas and concert of action in general concerns; and the very first object of statesmanship, in governing little adjacent communities of various origin, particularly when the mass of the people is of inferior race, is to use every means to simplify, assimilate, and, if possible, identify, their codes of law."—Sir C. B. Adderley, "Review of Col. Produce and Col. Hist.," Lond., 1869, pp. 294-9.

success, as it has not been found practicable to embrace in such a scheme Colonies originally settled by foreign nations, and administered under such dissimilar codes, as, for instance, British Guiana, Trinidad and St. Lucia; with Barbadoes and other "settled" Colonies. Courts of Appeal, consisting of the Chief Justices of the several Colonies, have, however, been established in the Leeward, and I think also in the Windward Islands.

32. In speculating upon the future of these Colonies, the prevalent absenteeism of large proprietors interposes some difficulties which would not otherwise exist. The bulk of the populations are of races naturally excitable and unsteady, prone to be led away by, and to give their support to, those who least deserve their confidence. An illustration of this may be adduced in the outbreak in St. Lucia, induced by French socialist intriguers from Martinique after the Revolution of 1848; and another in the riots having for their object the expulsion of the Madeiran settlers from British Guiana in 1856, originated by a fanatic whose ostensible motive was abhorrence of the Roman Catholic faith. Perhaps one of the most effectual methods of training the people for gradual elevation in the social scale would be by familiarising them with local self-government, and some progress has been already made in that direction by the incorporation of some municipalities, and in British Guiana also, by the institution of Boards of Superintendence of the numerous villages in the rural districts; but the prevalent indifference throughout the communities to the exercise of the franchise, both legislative and municipal, is very remarkable. Amongst other efforts to induce the peasantry to look forward to the acquisition of higher and more permanent interests in the soil, may be instanced the introduction of the *metayer* system of agriculture, and the suggested establishment of central factories for converting the cane-juice into sugar. The first-mentioned was tried in Guiana as well as in some of the Islands, but as the result was, to the best of my knowledge, failure in all alike, I may content myself with briefly stating, as regards the continental colony, that out of thirty-one estates upon which it was tried, it was only even partially successful upon four. I am not personally aware of the practical application hitherto of the experiment of central factories in any British Colony, although they exist in both Martinique and Guadalupe, and I am not sure that a somewhat similar establishment has not been in operation in Barbadoes. In the Islands, speaking generally, I conceive that they would probably be attended with great success, and it is matter of gratification to notice that the proposal to form a Company for the

establishment of a central factory for the Leeward Islands seems to be received with marked favour in Antigua, and that it is even considered possible that by the time the crop of 1873 is ready to be reaped, one central factory at least will be ready to aid in its manufacture. A French Company is stated to be willing to advance the capital necessary for the erection of a central factory in Martinique,\* if a guarantee can be given of sufficient canes to manufacture 8,000 hogsheads of sugar. Many other experiments are being constantly tried with various degrees of success; and all such are of great value, especially in so far as the endeavours tend to encourage a disposition on the part of the small freeholders to cultivate canes on their own account, to be converted into sugar at such establishments.†

88. A very valuable and interesting report upon the working of the Central Sugar Factory System in the French Islands appears in the *Antigua Observer* of August 24th, 1872, and will be reproduced in the Appendix G. It is a gratifying feature of the report that upon the whole the Demerara process of sugar manufacture is regarded by the Commissioners as better adapted to the peculiar needs of Antigua than that of the French usines. I am not so sanguine as to the profitable adoption of the scheme in regard to

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\* The subjoined returns of some of the usines in Martinique, for the year 1872, is extracted from the *West Indian, Barbadoes* newspaper:—

Usine.	Capital.	Trs. Sugar.	Results per cent.
Marino .....	£34,000	2,100	7.92
Robert .....	56,000	2,700	7.15
Simon .....	30,000	1,900	8.05
Petit Bourg .....	48,000	2,500	7.03
François .....	48,000	2,900	7.67

In the first-named usine the planter was allowed 6 per cent., and the dividend was 21 per cent.; on the next three the planter was allowed 5½ per cent. of sugar on the cane, and the dividend was 20 per cent.; in the last the planter was allowed 5 per cent. and the dividend amounted to 34 per cent., attributable to the larger quantity of sugar made, and the smaller per centage allowed the planter.

† In connection with this subject I find by the most recent papers that a commencement is about to be made of the establishment of central factories under favourable auspices in Trinidad. The *Chronicle* says: "We are glad to hear that some neighbouring planters intend sending their canes to the great central factory at Petit Morne, when it is ready for grinding, which it is expected to be in April; and other large proprietors are looking forward hopefully to the result of the undertaking, intending, if successful, to erect mills themselves. The Petit Morne Factory is not intended to be confined to working up the Colonial Company's canes only, but to be a genuine central mill, buying from all comers so far as its capacity allows, after working up the Company's own canes. The Colonial Company have lately bought another adjoining estate, whose canes are to be worked up by the great usine. One gentleman has sole charge of the cultivation and another of the manufacture, thus separating, as far as possible under the same ownership, the processes of culture and manufacture."

Guiana, because the capital already invested in the manufacturing plant of each estate is so large that it cannot be expected they should be dismantled for such an object. There are, however, even there, tracts of land interspersed throughout the region of estates in cultivation which, if again taken up, might conveniently test the applicability of the system.

34. Amongst a variety of projects for promoting the prosperity of the West Indies, I can here merely glance at the scheme of a United West India Government and Joint Stock Company, which emanated from Jamaica in 1849; and a seemingly more practical suggestion by Captain Elliot,\* sometime Governor of Bermuda, for applying a system of landed credit adopted in Germany and France to the relief of embarrassed owners of property in the West Indies; to which may be added the West Indies Encumbered Estates Act, carried into operation in several of the Islands.

35. It has long been the fashion in various quarters to be excessively and acutely critical upon the alleged inertness and backwardness of West India planters. So far as my own observation and experience qualify me to form an opinion, I utterly deny the applicability of the accusation.† When an estate is in the hands of a mortgagee, the owner cannot of course introduce expensive improvements into the processes of either agriculture or manufacture without the concurrence of the controller of ways and means; but men possessed of capital have expended their wealth without stint in any and every way calculated to improve the value of their properties, and this not unfrequently when their outlay would have been elsewhere and otherwise invested with far more certainty of yielding them the profit to which they were honestly entitled. In the ten years ending with 1866 the declared value of machinery‡

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\* A. Cochut on "Landed Credit," Bermuda, 1852.

† But this is mildness itself compared to some of the published compliments applied to the proprietors of West Indian estates, *ex. gr.* "The planters swear by the bar sinister on their escutcheon, and glory in their shame. Absolute control and irresponsible authority over men and women is their special *penchant*, and it would seem that life in the tropics would be intolerable without the luxuries of oppressive taxation and the monotonous tragedies of groans and blood. No vampire loves blood more than a West Indian." The pamphlet in which the sentences composing this paragraph occur was written about a dozen years ago by a gentleman who prefixes the title of "Reverend" to his name. According to the tenets of this school it has been well said, in commenting upon this passage, by an able writer, since deceased, "Take the best man in England; make him proprietor of a West Indian estate; let him devote his energies to sugar-planting, and he becomes a moral monster, whom it is impossible to mention without vituperation: a Sardanapalus grafted on a Domitian."

‡ The steam plough and steam dredging machines have been tried in British Guiana; and, in the very full and interesting Report of the Administrator of St. Lucia for 1870, he mentions the introduction, at the expense of an enterprising resident proprietor, of a steam irrigating machine.

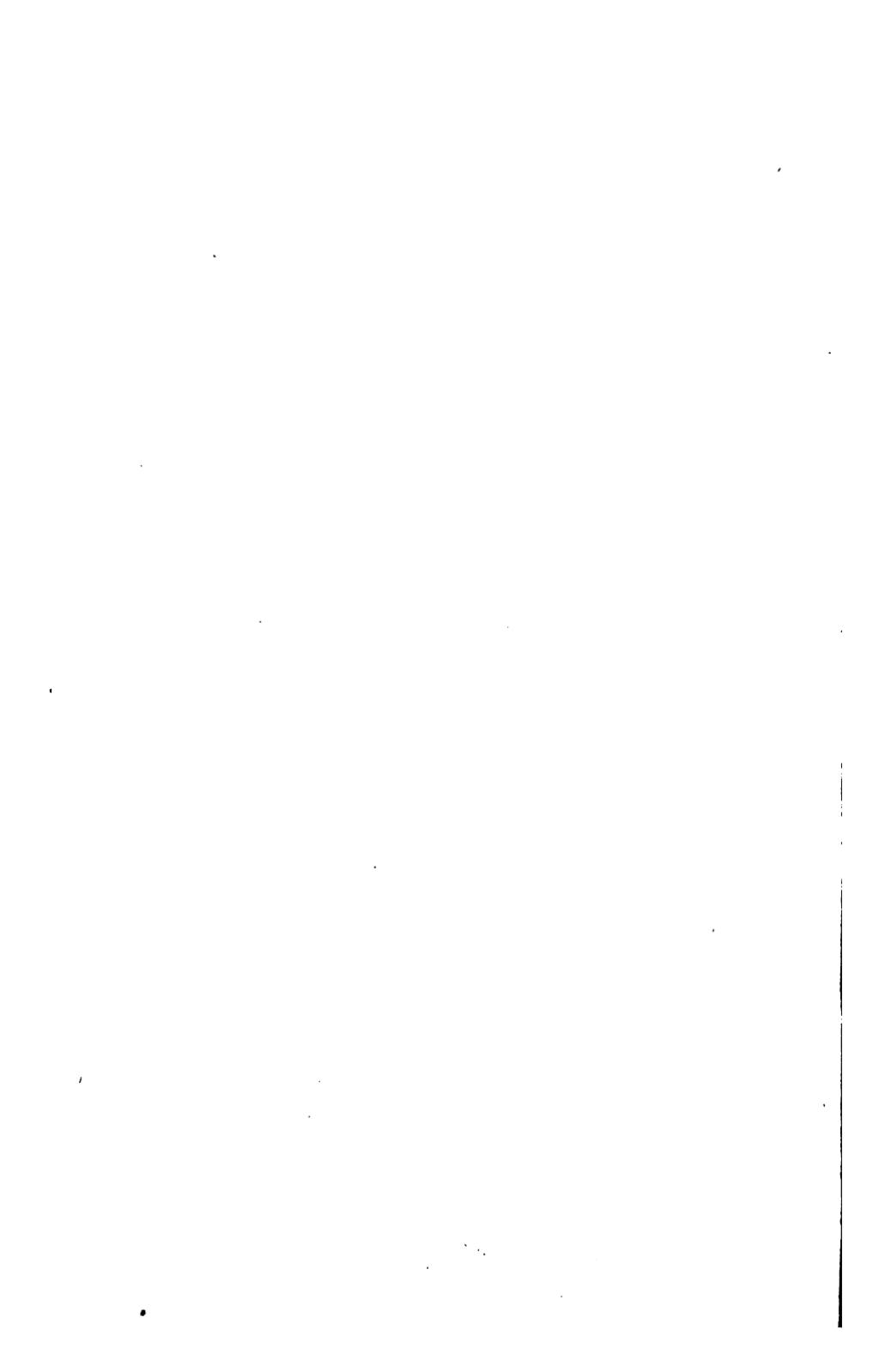
imported into British Guiana alone, free of duty, was nearly £400,000, and in the subsequent five years ending with 1871 it amounted to £888,884, making a total of £757,228, or upwards of three quarters of a million sterling ; and it is worthy of notice that the value of the imports for the latest five years nearly equalled that of the imports for the previous decade.

96. My own recollection goes back to the period when 10-gun brigs carried the correspondence between the mother-country and these Colonies, and the mails were conveyed intercolonially by schooners ; after this a man-of-war steamer was occasionally employed ; then came the contract service performed by the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, of which for many years it retained the monopoly ; but now we have not only their immensely improved and really splendid ships, but the French and Germans compete with mail lines, and private enterprise has entered the lists with more than one line of regularly appointed steamers which effect a communication between Great Britain, the West Indies and South America, and the United States. Many other attempts have been made from time to time to establish direct steam communication between the United States, the West Indies, and South America, but hitherto without permanent success. From local newspapers, however, I learn that the Government of the Dominion of Canada have taken some action in regard to overtures which have been made by the Colonists of British Guiana for the establishment of a line of steamers to run fortnightly between Halifax and British Guiana *via* Barbadoes. The amount of subsidy asked for by the promoters appears to be sufficiently reasonable, being only \$60,000 per annum, of which the Dominion undertakes to be responsible for one half, leaving the quotas of each of the other flourishing communities only \$15,000, or little more than £8,000 sterling. British Guiana has, moreover, actually subsidised one of the lines above alluded to. Direct efforts have been more than once made to cement a union of interests between the Dominion of Canada and the British West Indian Colonies, but considerations of Imperial policy have hitherto interposed obstacles which it is to be hoped will not much longer prove insurmountable.

97. As additional illustrations of the increasing importance and advancement of our Western intertropical possessions, may be quoted the establishment of Colonial contract steamers and of local railways—a project for one is at this moment revived in Barbados—and the recent completion of telegraphic communication between them and this country, although as yet but very imperfectly developed ; the institution of local mutual fire and life

assurance societies; the introduction of works for supplying many of their chief towns with water and with gas; the holding of local exhibitions of natural and of manufactured products; and the fact that in no instance, so far as I can recall, have they failed to redeem to the very letter every public financial obligation they have incurred.

38. Upon the whole, taking a retrospective view of the history of the West India colonies for five-and-thirty years, there is substantial ground for congratulation in the evidence afforded, with some few exceptions, of progressive material and moral improvement in spite of many drawbacks and difficulties: the shock of emancipation—combined with the withdrawal of protection and the admission of slave-grown produce upon equal terms after coerced labour had been abolished in our own possessions, with the obstacles interposed in the way of obtaining supplies of labourers, and with vexatious special fiscal restrictions upon their peculiar trade—was violent enough to make them “reel and stagger, and be at their wits' end,” but they have given ample proof that they are no unworthy members of the Imperial body-politic in intelligence, in energy, and in loyal adherence, through evil report and through good report, to the Crown which claims their allegiance. And though it may not be questioned that the horizon of the future is far from cloudless, or that many causes exist for grave anxiety on the part of those entrusted with the guidance of their affairs, we may indulge the hope that they will not be without the encouragement and support of that cordial sympathy and generous feeling on the part of their fellow countrymen which they so abundantly deserve.





## STATISTICAL OFFICE

OF THE

## WEST INDIA I

GOVERNMENT.	POPULATION.	REGS BANKS. RS. AMOUNT.
Governor. Executive Council. Native Council.	926	£ 105,478
Governor. Court of Policy. Divided Court.	906 in parts 966	100,996 of which by Immigrants 58,667
Colonial Governor. Executive Council. Native Council.	103	£10670.44
Governor. Executive and Native Councils. Native Assembly.	101	
Governor. Native Council. Native Council.		
Colonial Governor. Native Council. Native Assembly.	20	£1,589
Colonial Governor. Native and Legis- lative Councils. Native Assembly.		
Colonial Governor. Native and Legislative Council. Native Committee. Native Assembly.		
Administrator. Native Council. Native Council.		
Colonial Governor. Native Council. Native Assembly.		
Governor-in-Chief. Native Council. Native Council.	445	
Colonial Governor. Native Council. Native Assembly.	St. Kitts 28,108 Anguilla 2,561	£91
resident. Executive and Native Council.		
Administrator. Native Council. Native Council.		
resident. Native Council. Native Council.		
Governor. Executive and Native Councils. Native Assembly.	163	
resident. Executive and Native Councils.	14	

In submitting the accompanying Statistical Chart, I desire to explain, that whilst believing the general results to be stated with sufficient precision for the object of estimating the relative importance of this group of our Colonial Dependencies, I cannot undertake to vouch for the literal accuracy of the several Returns, although I have taken all possible pains to be free from error. It need be scarcely observed that there is a want of uniformity in making up statistical documents which renders the task of the compiler frequently very difficult under certain heads; and I have in some instances found that the statements in the Blue-Book tables and in the accompanying reports do not quite agree, owing most likely to the writers possessing a local knowledge of the incidence of the facts stated, which enables them to present them in a more correct aspect. Perhaps one advantage to be derived from the inevitable imperfections of such a table as this may be to indicate some points in which it will be desirable for the officers who compile these very valuable and interesting records to agree upon some uniform principle of stating the facts, and which would lead to the like result in the commentaries prepared by the administrators of the Governments, by whom they are transmitted to the Secretary of State. It is, however, right to remark that within the range of my personal acquaintance with such records, the improvement they indicate upon their precursors of five-and-thirty years ago is remarkable and most gratifying; and whilst it would be presumptuous and invidious to specify particular instances, the like testimony may be safely borne to the higher character of the Reports on the condition and progress of these Colonies, furnished by the respective Governors.

I am under the impression that there are those in this country to whom it will be something new to learn that the aggregate values of the imports and exports of these Dependencies amount to £15,500,000, and their revenues and expenditures to nearly £8,000,000, whilst they give employment to 1,000,000 tons of shipping. Even in the comparative statements of the exports of the mother-country for the years 1871 and 1872, the British Possessions in the West Indies made no discreditible figure, the value of the goods exported to them being for 1872, £8,485,406, against £8,109,167 in 1871, showing an increase of £326,239.

Moreover, it was computed in the same article that the proportion of advance in the exports to British Possessions was 18 per cent., as against 18 per cent. in relation to foreign countries. Perhaps in time it may come to be believed that Her Majesty's subjects are each others' best customers all the world over.

I now proceed to offer a few brief comments upon the respective heads of the Chart, so far as appears to be desirable.

The revenues of all these Colonies are mainly derived from import duties, and there is a notable variety in the rates of duty imposed in each upon the same class of goods. This fact at once suggests the idea that by means of a federal union, for example, a desirable uniformity in this respect might be readily achieved; but it should be borne in mind that each of these communities, however small, calculates its own requirements of revenue according to its local needs, and has certain reasons or grounds, more or less substantial, for levying the particular imposts upon which it mainly depends: on the other hand, if the proceeds of all such sources of revenue were collected and paid into a common chest, the necessary appropriations could be made in proportion to local demands.

In Jamaica, the amount stated as revenue for 1871 includes an export-tax, levied specially together with a capitation-tax for immigration, but it does not include a sum of £90,000 raised by way of loan for the same purpose. The ordinary revenue is raised from import duties, light dues, excise, trade licenses, stamps, land-tax on main roads, new property-tax, parochial road-tax, house-tax, tax on dogs, post-office, and miscellaneous. The financial year is calculated from 1st October to 30th September.

In British Guiana, where the gross revenue amounted to £879,647, a sum of £8,124 is included as arising from abatements on salaries of public officers towards the provision of superannuation allowances on retirement. The ordinary sources of revenue are import and wine and spirit duties. Beacon and tonnage duties, duties on rum, and licenses to retail spirits, with other licenses; office fees, taxes, fines and seizures, interest, establishments under Government, and miscellaneous. It deserves notice that in this Colony the duties on some articles of primary necessity have been largely reduced or altogether abolished; for instance, dried fish has been reduced from 50 c. to 5 c. per cwt.; wheat-flour \$1 to 10 c. per barrel; on building lime, duty abolished; rice the same, salt the same. In a Colony where labour is so costly, it is obviously sound policy to endeavour to cheapen the cost of subsistence, and thereby indirectly encourage the voluntary

immigration of agricultural labourers. The financial year is here computed from 1st July to 30th June.\*

In British Honduras, in addition to the tariff of import duties, the gross revenue—the largest ever raised in any one year—was augmented by a new tax on landed property, and an additional import duty of 6 per cent., *ad valorem*, to expire 31st July, 1872. The financial year is here calculated from 1st April to 31st March.

In Barbadoes the gross revenue is chiefly derived from import duties, tonnage and port dues, militia-tax, rum duties, liquor licenses; the items of timber, hoops and staves, malt liquor, spirits and tobacco were doubled at the beginning of the second quarter of the year. A sum of £684 appears to have been received under the Superannuation Act, but this, as the Governor remarks, can scarcely be accounted as available revenue. Including £29,059 of local or parochial taxation, the Governor estimates the proportion of taxation per head of the population at 18s. 4½d. Whilst, however, quoting the statement in this and other instances where given by the local authorities themselves, I have abstained from attempting to submit any general or comparative statement of this nature, which, without extremely minute and complete analysis of the data in respect to each Colony, must necessarily be fallacious and misleading. With respect to Trinidad, it should be explained that the amount returned as gross revenue includes a sum of £7,741 6s. received and expended on account of tramways, leaving a net amount of £264,852. The general system of taxation underwent no change in 1871, but the export duties levied for immigration purposes were increased from 3s. to 7s. 6d. per hogshead on sugar, and from 7½d. to 1s. 6½d. per 100 pounds on cocoa. Import duties, rum duties, wharfage duties, licenses, interest, income-tax, land-sales, and miscellaneous, constitute the leading items of revenue.

St. Vincent is another instance in which the revenue for 1871 is reported as being the largest raised for many years, if not, indeed, unprecedented in the history of the Colony. The ordinary revenue amounted to £24,154, and the taxes levied for the maintenance of the garrison to £5,996, making together £30,150; for immigration there was raised in addition £1,771, and the local revenue of the town of Kingston is given at £707. Customs' duties form the chief element of ordinary revenue.

The constituents of general revenue in Grenada are specified as Customs, tonnage, excise, licenses, fees and fines, post-office,

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\* Whilst revising this sheet, I learn that the duties on fish and flour have been re-imposed, whilst the rate of *ad valorem* duty has been reduced from 10 per cent. to 5 per cent.

assessed taxes, and miscellaneous. Local and special revenues are raised for immigration, water-rate, harbour dues, education, streets, the post-office, public lands, and the Port of Grenville. The general revenue for 1871 was slightly less than in 1870.

In Tobago the general revenue improved in 1871, by comparison with 1870, to the amount of £1,764. Import duties appear to have been increased, perhaps provisionally, by 40 per cent., and, with this augmentation, constituted about two-thirds of the gross revenue.

Like St. Vincent, St. Lucia received the largest revenue ever raised in the island, without any change of taxation; the sources are specified as Customs, roads and bridges, immigration, education, casual, and harbour dredging fund. The assessment for education is in addition to a contribution from the general revenue. The augmentation of receipts is partly ascribable to the clearing off stocks of tobacco, in anticipation of a rise in the duty to take effect in 1872.

In Dominica the comparison of 1871 with the preceding year shows a decrease nearly corresponding in amount with that indicated in the case of Grenada; the decreases were in import and export duties, liquor and distillery licenses, fines and forfeitures, rent of ordnance property, and miscellaneous; on the other hand, there were increases in tonnage dues, excise of rum, and miscellaneous; the lower returns from exports are partly ascribed to the abolition of duty on firewood. There is no Report accompanying the Blue-Book for Antigua, but the Governor-in-Chief states that there is improvement in the finances and trade. As compared with 1870, 1871 shows an increase of revenue amounting to £8,707. The sources of general revenue are import duties, land-tax, duties on rum and molasses, tonnage duties, excise duty on spirits, taxes on trades, professions, and businesses; on wheeled conveyances, licenses, stamp duties, market tolls, fines and forfeitures.

In the case of St. Kitt's, also, no report for 1871 has been received. The gross revenue for the years 1871 and 1872 closely corresponds in amount as in other instances; the principal item is import duties, followed by export duties, license duties, tonnage duties, and miscellaneous, such as fines and forfeitures, post-office receipts, &c.

In Montserrat the revenue is gathered from import and export dues, tonnage duties, land and house tax, horse-tax, commutation for statute labour, stamp duties, excise of rum, spirits, and wine retail licenses; other licenses; fines and forfeitures, and miscellaneous. In 1870 the duties on wheat-flour and corn-meal appear to have been repealed, and in 1871 these were followed

by the tonnage dues and export duties, whilst the *ad valorem* duty on non-enumerated goods was lowered from 10 to 7½ per cent. The Administrator reports the rate of taxation per head as 9s. 1d. The amount of revenue actually raised was less than in 1870, but the balance in hand for that year increased the total to a more than equal sum.

Nevis, like Antigua and St. Kitt's, is not illustrated by any report for 1871; the revenue for that year, however, was about £300 less than in 1870.

In the Virgin Islands, import duties, licenses to wreckers and others, taxes, post-office, fines and forfeitures, registration of deeds, and miscellaneous items, represent the main sources of revenue; and for 1871 the total shows an increase over that for 1870.

The income of the Bahamas for 1871 represents a total considerably less than for the preceding year, but it is explained that this is owing to a change in the term of credit allowed for the payment of import duties, which having formerly been six months was reduced to one month, and hence benefited the revenue of 1870 with what would, under the pre-existing arrangement, have appeared to the credit of the balance-sheet for 1871. An additional rate of import duties to the extent of 25 per cent., originally levied in 1869, has been continued in force until the 1st February of the current year.

The general receipts of the Turks' and the Caicos Islands for 1871—derived from import duties, and export duty on salt and dyewoods, light dues, and miscellaneous—exhibit an increase of upwards of £640, as compared with 1870, but the last-mentioned year was aided by a loan of £2,000 and a contribution from the crown chest of £891; the total amount of crown revenue in 1871 was £1,989 18s. 5d., and it is appropriated to works of public utility in the Colony. It may be remarked that whilst these Islands have for many years been severed from the Government of the Bahamas and annexed to that of Jamaica, it is in contemplation to place them in still closer dependence upon Jamaica, and to largely reduce their civil establishment; an Act of Parliament conferring the necessary powers has been passed in the present session of Parliament.

In concluding these remarks on the sources of revenue accruing to the several Colonies of which I am writing, I may add that it would be an interesting addition to append a comparative table of their various tariffs of import duties, including the rate of *ad valorem* duty on non-enumerated goods, but this I fear cannot be completed in time for publication with this Appendix.

The nature of the charges on the general revenues of these Colonies necessarily varies much in accordance in their position in the political scale. In Jamaica, for example, in addition to the ordinary items of civil, judicial, revenue, ecclesiastical, medical, educational, police, and prisons, there are items for the maintenance of the Botanic Garden, and for subsidising steam communication to New York, the total amounting to £376,798; there is also a charge of about £3,400 for "Military," which is explained to represent an allowance to the troops in lieu of Customs' duties formerly refunded to the canteen-keepers, so that it is practically merely a nominal charge. The outlay for the ecclesiastical staff is in process of gradual extinction, whilst the provision for education is increased by a corresponding sum. Although the parochial system has been long established in the island, it appears that provision for the relief of the poor is made from the general revenue, as an item of £28,222 appears in the account of 1871 against £27,250, indicating a saving of £4,298, or, as stated in the accompanying Report, £5,740—a seeming discrepancy, which illustrates the difficulty of being quite assured of the accuracy of the figures quoted.

In British Guiana, in addition to the fixed establishments enumerated in the case of Jamaica, the provision for hospitals, including asylums for the aged and infirm poor, lepers, lunatics and orphans, figures for upwards of £46,000.

British Honduras partly contributes to the maintenance of its garrison at the rate of £40 per man per annum.

In Barbadoes the expenditure for 1871 was largely in excess of that for 1870, and amongst the items are found a vote for vaccination, another for the census, and two grants of public money in aid of the sufferers by fire at Pointe à Pitre in Guadaloupe, and of the sufferers by the hurricane in the Leeward Islands, amounting together to £3,600. This amount appears to have been supplemented by voluntary contributions to the extent of £1,426. In this island the parochial system has always existed, and the local sources of revenue yielded in 1871, £22,265, with which the expenditure was as nearly as possible identical. The charge for maintenance of the poor was £7,658; education averaged £1,450; and maintenance of the Churches, £2,500 per annum.

In Trinidad an excess of expenditure, amounting to £2,405, is chiefly debited to the cost of taking the census and the purchase of a steam-dredger. Of the whole expenditure more than two-fifths is incurred for public improvements and in immigration—

the other leading items include hospitals and asylums, police and gaols, education, mail and telegraph services.

In St. Vincent £4,153 were expended by the town of Kingston, borrowed from the general revenue, for the construction of water-works. Nearly one-fifth of the gross expenditure is incurred by the Colony as its contribution towards the maintenance of the garrison.

The objects of expenditure in Grenada correspond closely with the leading ones of the other Colonies, namely, the support of the civil, judicial, and ecclesiastical establishments, education, police and gaols, relief of the poor, roads and buildings. There are, moreover, local revenues and special funds for specific objects, of which the foremost is immigration.

Nothing suggests itself for remark in relation to the expenditure of Tobago.

An excess in that of St. Lucia is explained by the cost of providing return passages to Calcutta for the remainder of the coolies entitled thereto; the cost of vaccination; grants in aid of the sufferers at Pointe à Pitre and the Virgin Islands. A subsidy also appears in aid of a coasting-steamer, by which communication between the different towns of the island was for the first time regularly maintained.

An item of £100 in aid of the sufferers at Pointe à Pitre appears in the disbursements of Dominica; also the cost of the census and grants to the Roman Catholics and Wesleyans. The total exhibits an increase of £828 in 1871, as compared with 1870. The expenditure of the Board of Health has been augmented by the necessity of providing separate hospital accommodation for the treatment of persons afflicted with that terrible disease, the yaws.

In Montserrat the provision for the public servants slightly exceeds that for the maintenance of the various establishments, which include the usual items, and also a small sum for quarantine purposes, and another for the census.

The necessity for repairing various public buildings injured in the hurricane of the preceding year led to an excess of expenditure in the Virgin Islands over 1870, but with all the drawbacks there was a balance in hand at the close of the year, available for 1872, amounting to £168, and it is confidently anticipated that this Colony will be shortly self-supporting. The Bahamas had at the close of 1871 a surplus revenue of £1,164; and a contract had been entered into for the conveyance of the mails fortnightly from November to May, and monthly during the remaining months,

between New York, Nassau, and Havana. The expenditure of the Turks' and Caicos Islands suggests no matter calling for observation.

A large proportion of the million and a half of the indebtedness of these Colonies has been incurred, as might be expected, for the purpose of adding to their labouring strength. In Jamaica, an additional loan of £80,000 was raised for immigration purposes, and charged upon immigration revenues, raising the sum at debit from £56,188 in 1870 to £84,169 in 1871. The public debt secured on the general revenues had, however, diminished by the judicious management of the executive from £609,505 in 1870, to £591,656 in 1871, and a considerable amount has been converted from debentures bearing 6 per cent. to similar securities at 5 per cent., showing the satisfactory position of the credit of the island.

The Public Debt of British Guiana stands at £512,864, being less than the aggregate amount at the close of 1870, by £69,558. Of the gross amount, however, the general revenues are only liable for the interest and redemption of £207,938; of this sum £180,000 is the balance of the original loan of £250,000 raised in 1859 under the guarantee of the Imperial Government—a species of assistance which has on all subsequent occasions been withheld. £80,000 of this balance will have been paid off on the 1st January last. The repayment of all outstanding loans is amply provided for.

The entire Public Debt of British Honduras amounts to £27,842 comprising a local improvement loan, balance £18,049, an immigration loan of £16,550, balance £6,897, and a debt to the Imperial Government for military assistance, balance £7,404.

Barbadoes is unburthened with any Public Debt, but if there be any soundness in the view of a French writer on Political Economy "plus qu'un pays a des dettes, plus il est riche et heureux,"\* this may be a doubtful advantage.

Trinidad has had the benefit of a loan on the guarantee of the Imperial Government, of which the capital was originally £125,000: of this £40,000 were paid off in 1870, £60,000 becomes due this year, and the balance in 1874. On the 31st December, 1871, there stood at the credit of this loan £78,907 invested in Consols. A loan for erecting public buildings is also chargeable upon the public revenues, and £8,200 remain due of the original £16,000. There is, moreover, a tramway and highway loan, amounting originally to £108,510, of which a balance is outstanding of

\* Klaproth.

£60,700. Of these loans the interest and sinking funds are secured partly upon local revenues and partly upon private estates benefiting by the improvements.

No Public Debt appears to exist in St. Vincent. In Grenada a loan of £7,000 for immigration purposes was raised in 1858 and at the close of the year 1871 the amount at credit in the funds was £6,876; practically, therefore, this Colony may be considered free from debt, as Tobago and St. Lucia also appear to be. Dominica was assisted in 1836 by the Imperial Government with a loan of £10,000 to help in repairing the damage sustained in the hurricane of 1824; up to April, 1871, £6,208 had been repaid, and, with interest, £6,426 remain due: the balance is expected to be repaid by annual instalments of £804 extending to 1881.

Antigua had at the close of 1870 an aggregate debt of £52,195, of which the waterworks-loan figures for £30,000, the savings-bank £9,000, and immigration £6,800; the investments for sinking fund reduce the nett balance due to £45,826.

St. Kitt's had recourse to a small loan of £9,200 to help the sufferers by fire in 1867, but only £8,000 appears to have been issued and £500 of the debentures were paid off in October, 1870. <sup>1</sup>

Montserrat also was indebted to the Imperial Government for a share in the earthquake loan of 1848: the amount payable was £1,517 with interest at 8½ per cent.

Nevis and the Virgin Islands are free from debt. The debenture debt of the Bahama Islands amounted in 1871 to £54,161, being the same as in 1869. Turk's Islands has a trifling debt of £2,700, paying interest at 8 per cent.

It will be interesting to give a general idea of the leading features of the importations of these possessions, those of their exports being of course very much the same in all cases. In Jamaica, the aggregate value of imports for the calendar year 1870 is given at £1,800,212, of which £760,481 are credited to the United Kingdom, and in the financial year 1st Oct., 1870, to 30th Sept. 1871, £1,881,185, the proportion of which from the United Kingdom is not given. It is, however, worthy of notice that the values of articles allowed to be imported free of duty for the manufacture of the staples has steadily increased for the last six years, being respectively for—

	1866	..	..	..	£37,694
Calendar years	1867	..	..	..	39,703
	1868	..	..	..	50,988
	1869	..	..	..	52,552
	1870	..	..	..	53,012
Financial year 1870-71	..	..	..	..	63,073

In 1871 British Guiana imported to the value of £1,897,000, whereas £97,536 was due to the United Kingdom. In 1871 the amount of the importation was almost identical, say £1,897,183, but the proportion from Great Britain was even higher, being £1,025,180; the difference was made up by importations from West Indian and North American Colonies, £341,514; from the United States, £429,144; and from other countries, £1,124,142. From the mother-country the Colony draws its chief supplies of bricks, butter, candles, coal, carriage, wood largely from foreign stocks, turpentine, salt, sugar, machinery valued in 1871 at £190,183) manure, cotton which figures for £14,445; oils and paints, tea, spirits, and wines, and other enumerated articles paying 10 per cent. *ad valorem*. The United States contribute packed beef, bread-stuffs, cheese, corn and pulse and canned dried fish, flour, lard, mackerel, horses and mules, lamp oil, pork, staves, tobacco, and, of course, a proportion of goods paying the *ad valorem* duty. The British Colonies furnish dried and salted fish, timber, potatoes, and including India rice.

The general character of the exports from these possessions has been already indicated, but the subject possesses a peculiar interest in so far as the returns present indications of a disposition to vary the stereotyped form of "sugar, rum, and molasses," and the progress of Jamaica in this respect is, as has been before remarked, worthy of special notice. In his report for the year 1870, Sir John P. Grant states that the coffee crop was the largest known for upwards of thirty years, partly owing to the increasing attention paid to this cultivation by the small settlers—a most cheering and important fact. In regard to arrowroot, on the other hand, the decreased exportation from 70,304 lbs. in 1866 to 6,543 lbs. in 1870 and 5,820 lbs. in 1870-71 is explained by the great superiority in the home market of the Bermuda article, which reaches 1s. 2d. per lb. against 2d. for that of Jamaica. And yet this great difference is ascribed less to any material nutritional superiority of the one over the other, than to the greater care bestowed upon the manufacture, the Bermuda arrowroot being of unimpeachable purity of colour; it is right to add that the deterioration of the Jamaica arrowroot is attributed to the use of water holding iron in solution for washing the roots. The same difficulty is alluded to by the late Dr. Shier, agricultural chemist to the Colony of British Guiana; who, however, suggested that by a chemical process, exceedingly simple, inexpensive, and easy of application, it would be possible to purify the water of the Artesian wells, and render it almost as fit as rain water for the

purpose of manufacturing starch. The export of this article from St. Vincent has also diminished in 1870 to 10,488 barrels, being a decrease on the previous year of 1,115 barrels; it, however, rose again in 1871 to 10,894 barrels. Amongst the other minor industries mentioned by the Governor as taking rank amongst the exports from Jamaica are lime-juice, and turtle preserved in tins. Cocoa has also steadily increased, rising from 133 cwt. in 1867 to 644 cwt. in 1870. Sir John Grant says, justly, that no cultivation would better answer the means and objects of the smaller settlers in the very numerous localities to which the plant is suitable. In Trinidad, which in this article takes the lead amongst the British West India possessions, the export of cocoa in 1870 reached 64,076 cwt., being largely above the average of the preceding ten years, which was 53,181 cwt. The price in the London market in June, 1871, was quoted at from 85s. for common to 190s. for the finest quality. Much importance, therefore, attaches to the selection of proper varieties as well as of suitable soils, and especially as the settlement of Crown lands by small proprietors is gradually enlarging, and most of such will probably engage in this cultivation. In Grenada also cocoa is becoming of increasing value, being in 1870, £50,406, and in 1871, £58,913. This island also exported 170 tons of cotton and about 11,000 gallons of whale-oil, the results of a branch of industry not so well followed up by our own countrymen as it might be: at least, I am under the impression that it is mostly in the hands of the United States people.

Sir John Grant goes on to indicate the growing importance of the trade between Jamaica and the United States in fruits and vegetables; bananas, cocoa-nuts, and oranges at present are the favourite fruits, and yams, an excellent substitute for the potato, the chief vegetable. Whilst Bahamas sends away pine-apples to London and New York to the annual value of £80,000 and upwards, the trade has practically no existence from Jamaica. The Governor, alluding to the haphazard sort of way in which the fruit is cultivated and shipped, expresses a doubt if a well-flavoured pine-apple can be grown in the latitude of Bahamas. I remember the earliest shipments of this fruit to London, and have often been struck by the unsatisfactory results exhibited in the costermongers' barrows in the streets of London. But I have no doubt whatever that pine-apples of size and flavour second to none can be produced in the Bahamas. More attention was even then there paid to the cultivation, by grafting, of oranges and other fruits, than I have since found in any part of the West Indies; for the difficulty of preserving this description of property from theft is, doubtless, most

discouraging ; all races seem to look upon fruit as common property, and will even steal it whilst unripe, sometimes to their unquestionable personal discomfort. In concluding this reference to the minor staples of Jamaica, it would be improper to omit all allusion to the energetic efforts making to utilise the Botanic Garden, and to establish various new species of valuable vegetable exotics. Two new species of ipecacuanha have been added to the solitary one previously existing. The valuable properties of this plant in cases of tropical dysentery, in which it is found to act almost as much as a specific as quinine in intermittent fever, renders it of inestimable value. Then, two true Mangosteens, five choice varieties of pine-apple, and four species of orange new to the island, have been imported. Two acres of sisal hemp were planted at Castleton during the year, and a sample of the fibre having been submitted to a London broker, it was pronounced to be finer and larger than the same article imported from Mexico, and worth, at the date, £60 per ton, or from £10 to £12 above the ordinary price. Another important fibre has been established, namely, China grass, of which 100,000 plants were advertised for sale, and about one-third were applied for. The local Government were awaiting the result of the premium offered by the Indian Government for a fibre-producing machine, and should this be successful, the supply of vegetable fibres to the home manufacturer from all or nearly all our West India possessions would be practically unlimited. The cinchona plantation continues to make most satisfactory progress ; and 800 plants of Assam tea, planted in 1869, are in vigorous health. Tobacco of fine quality will, it is expected, soon take rank as one of the great staple exports of the Colony. The export of bamboo, for paper-making, has risen from £854 to £2,074.

Having alluded in the body of the preceding Paper to the extraordinary development of the trade with the United States, it is right to remark, that in the interval since it was written the instability of the trade has been unpleasantly illustrated : in February last, we are informed, that " the American sugar-market is dull, and prices getting still lower ; " whilst the home market fully shares in the depression. But it is very interesting to trace in various Reports the endeavours making in various quarters to improve the quality as well as to increase the quantity of sugar. Sir John Grant states that not only is an astonishing extent of sugar cultivation carried on among the peasantry, but that cultivation among the large proprietors has been, in many instances, considerably extended. Irrigation is being adopted on a large

scale with gratifying results, and in one case the only vacuum-pan and centrifugal sugar-making apparatus has been established, with the effect of producing an article equal to the best Demerara crystallised sugar. This is said to be quite a new feature in the history of Jamaica sugar manufacture. With respect to the small freeholders, 5,615 small sugar-mills are said to be their property, and the average yield of sugar equivalent to two hogsheads; a large proportion of this is consumed in the island. Mr. Des Vœux, the Administrator of St. Lucia, in his comprehensive and interesting Report for 1870, indicates the extension of the area of cultivation of sugar, although he cannot point to any improvement in the quality of the produce. He dwells forcibly on the importance of this to the future prosperity of the Colony, and with this view he strongly urges the adoption of the French system of *usines centrales*, on which the co-operative system has been engrafted with most gratifying results. Steam power, it is deserving of record, is in this island gradually superseding all other appliances for grinding purposes. In 1870 fourteen steam-mills were imported, one-half of which replaced wind, water, or cattle power, whilst the remaining seven were destined for newly-opened estates. Apart from other means, it is quite possible for the St. Lucia planters to produce a higher quality of sugar by the application of science to the process of manufacture: the crop of 1871 was the largest ever produced in the island. British Honduras exhibits some specialities in its list of exports—cedar-wood, mahogany (showing a rather considerable falling off), logwood, cocoa-nuts, fustic and turtle. Of the exports of this Colony, however, in 1870, no less than £102,000 represented articles imported, against £70,000 value of Colonial produce; so in 1871, the total value of exports being £207,672, £101,810 represented local produce, and the balance the value of produce and manufacture in transit from Belize to the neighbouring states, exchanged for cochineal, coffee, hides, hemp, indigo, india-rubber, sarsaparilla, &c. During this year mahogany-cutting experienced a little revival.

Barbadoes boasts of no auxiliary produce beyond the ordinary staples, except a few articles, all of trifling commercial value, such as aloes, cotton, fruit and vegetables, sweetmeats, building lime, tamarinds, &c., and of her export trade no inconsiderable proportion consisted of goods re-exported: for example—in 1869, the aggregate value being given as £985,424, the transit trade figures for £287,444; in 1870, the total being £978,020, the transit trade is represented by £270,599; in 1871 it is credited with £319,429 out of £1,298,546.

Two-thirds of the exports are distributed amongst the West Indies and British Guiana. In 1871 the proportion of imports from the United Kingdom was 46 per cent.; from British Colonies, 12·5 per cent.; and from foreign countries, 41·5 per cent. In like manner, of the exports, 47·1 per cent. went to the United Kingdom, 82 per cent. to British Colonies, and 20·9 per cent. to foreign countries.

Trinidad reports a considerable increase in the exports of cocoanuts and cocoa-nut fibre. There are two factories which have been for some time established for the production of oil and fibre, and the material can be produced to any extent, but the want of population in the outlying districts, and also of shipping facilities, at present interpose obstacles to the extension of this industry. Of the entire area of the island eleven-twelfths are stated to be still uncleared.

In St. Vincent the sugar of 1871 was valued at £15 per hogshead, against £12 10s. for the previous year. Grenada is improving in the extent of land under cane, but no progress has been made in the processes of manufacture. Cocoa and cotton are the auxiliary products of this Colony. In Tobago, improvement is recorded in both the culture and the manufacture of the staple. Cocoa and a small proportion of coffee are included amongst the exports of Dominica. No information is given for the year 1871 with respect to Antigua, but from the report for 1870 it would seem that an impulse had been given by the civil war in the United States to the renewed production of cotton; it was, however, gradually failing, the quantities being for 1868, 651,000 lbs.; for 1869, 858,500 lbs.; and for 1870, only 163,981 lbs. Montserrat includes lime-juice amongst its principal articles of export; but there are only four or five sugar estates in the island that are efficiently worked, and these are favoured with increased returns. The proportion of imports into St. Kitt's for 1870 was 45·40 per cent. from Great Britain, 31·45 per cent. from the United States, 12·67 per cent. from British West Indies, 4·84 per cent. from British North America, and 5·64 per cent. from foreign countries. The value of the exports from the Virgin Islands somewhat increased in 1871, as compared with 1870, and this arose from larger exportation of live stock, salt, charcoal, cotton, and sugar. In this dependency wrecked goods figure largely both in the import and export lists. The Administrator of the Government of the Bahamas expresses the opinion that there are signs of an increasing trade, and of a disposition to extend the cultivation of the soil. A heavy import duty in the United States has tended

to depress the staple industry of the Turk's and Caicos Islands, but the Administrator anticipates a wholesome reaction under the new administrative arrangements now in progress for the closer union of the Colony with Jamaica.

Little needs be said with regard to the political constitutions of these dependencies, beyond the remark that there is a prevalent tendency to favour the simplification of the administrative agencies employed, and there cannot be a doubt that this is the right direction to be pursued. The constitution of British Guiana is quite peculiar, being derived with but little alteration from the Dutch ; but it is found in practice to work well upon the whole, and so long as there is an overwhelming preponderance of the labouring class, and especially of Asiatic emigrants, it will be absolutely necessary to reserve considerable power in the hands of the Executive. In Trinidad the constitution has been considerably modified from that of the Spanish model which existed at the time of the conquest : so also in St. Lucia, where the previously existing French institutions have been superseded by English arrangements.

In the body of the paper I have alluded to the experiment now under trial of the Federal system of government initiated in the Leeward Islands by Sir Benjamin Pine. The second session has just concluded at St. Kitt's, and upon the whole it does not appear to have been exceptionally harmonious ; as was to be anticipated, a great difficulty is found to be the adjustment of the relative privileges of the federal and local legislatures. In his Prorogation speech the late Governor-in-chief suggests as the best solution the establishment of a common treasury, and a common system of finance ; but how far this may be acceptable to the influential inhabitants of each community remains to be seen. Amongst the valuable results of the Federal legislative deliberations, he alludes to preparation for the immediate establishment of Supreme and Circuit Courts ; the institution of a simple mode of procedure both in law and equity ; the enactment of a bankruptcy law, and a law for the protection of the property of absent and deceased persons ; the establishment of a common prison for the Leeward Islands, and a law for simplifying the transfer of real property.

With regard to the population, Sir John Peter Grant expresses the opinion that the census of 1871 is, as respects Jamaica, a tolerably safe guide upon the questions of the increase of population ; and he deduces the following results as to the proportionate rate, namely : in the seventeen years from 1844 to 1861, 16.91 per cent., and in the ten years from 1861 to 1871, 14.7 per cent.,

showing a largely increased ratio ; but it is to be remembered, that in the first-mentioned interval two epidemics of cholera and one of small-pox committed very great ravages, whilst during the latest decennial period no such cause has interfered with the natural increase of the population. The general results of 1871, as compared with 1861, show a decrease of 715 amongst the white race, and an increase of 19,281 in the mixed race, and of 46,333 in the negro race. The census returns include 7,798 Indian immigrants, but the Governor is of opinion that there were fully 9,000 in the Colony when the census was taken.

The increase in the "creole," or native population properly so called, of British Guiana, is estimated at something less than 10 per cent. in the last decade. The gross increase was from 93,861 to 118,570, but this includes upwards of ten thousand children born of Madeiran and Asiatic immigrants, in addition to a number not ascertained of children of Barbadian and other settlers. Of the total population of 198,491, 64,442 are immigrants of various races ; the European race figures for a trifle in excess of 2,000. There is a striking disproportion between the sexes, namely 108,791 males against 84,700 females, owing in great measure to the excess of males over females in the Asiatic immigration.

The proportion of deaths in 1871 of the entire population was 3.78 against 2.9 per cent. in 1870, although the Colony was free from any epidemic. Of the 7,824 deaths 2,680 were of children under ten years of age, showing 36.59 per cent. of the entire mortality. As hinted in the memoir, this great mortality is ascribed to insufficient and innutritious food, unwholesome lodging, insufficient clothing, bad water, and want of timely medical aid. Of the whole number of deaths nearly one-half are reported to have died without medical treatment. The number of children born was 8,660 boys and 8,522 girls, or 142 fewer than the deaths. The proportion of legitimate births was 2,150 ; but deducting the children of Asiatic immigrants, who cannot properly be included within the category of "illegitimate," the balance is represented by 8,895 ; a feature which will be found unpleasantly prominent throughout these provinces. The mean temperature of the year was 79°.40, and the year's rain-fall is registered at 109.730 inches.

The returns of baptisms, marriages, and burials in British Honduras cannot be depended upon ; but the census taken in December, 1871, shows a decrease of 925 in the preceding decade. There was no immigration during 1871, but many labourers left the Colony to work in Spanish Honduras and other places.

In Barbadoes the census was taken on the 2nd of April, 1871.

and, as intimated in the memoir, Governor Rawson has illustrated it by a copious analytical commentary. The percentage increase of population was in 1861, 12, and in 1871, only 6.1; but this slow rate was caused by an extensive emigration in the last decade. There is no registration of births and deaths in the island; but it has been ascertained that the natural rate of increase is at least from 2.7 to 2.8 per cent. annually, which would, under ordinary circumstances, have brought up the population in 1861 to 178,002, and in 1871 to 219,712, the actual number being 161,594. The heavy mortality from cholera in 1854 affected the results of both 1861 and 1871. Barbadoes is remarkable for the local character of its population, 98.3 per cent. being natives of the Colony; the original African element is, however, almost eliminated, there being only 62 in 1871, against 494 in 1861. The comparative percentages of the three principal divisions for 1861 and 1871 respectively are as under:—

		1861.	1871.
White	.. .. ..	10.9	10.2
Coloured	.. .. ..	23.6	24.4
Negro	.. .. ..	65.5	65.4

In Barbadoes the preponderance of numbers is in favour of the female sex, being 88,589 against 78,005, or 54.8 per cent. against 45.2. It is worthy of notice that the proportions of the population above 50 years of age was 9.1 per cent. in 1871, against 8.8 per cent. in 1861. Between the ages of 21 and 40 the difference in the proportions of the sexes is 142 females to 100 males; the disproportion has increased since 1861; and the injurious influence of this upon morals and physical progress is pointed out, "especially in a country where amongst a large portion of the inhabitants it is esteemed no disgrace to have illegitimate children." Contrary to what might have been assumed, very few of either sex are married before the age of twenty. Of the males 18,207, and of the females 22,622 are returned as "unemployed;" but the number of females engaged in agricultural labour largely exceeds that of males, being 28,323 against 18,947; and less than one per cent. of the population is engaged in fishing, which is also noteworthy. Nearly nine-tenths of the population are members of the Church of England. There were 4,850 houses of one room, and of these 1,816 were occupied by more than three persons, and 58 sheltered ten or upwards. There were 19,747 houses of two rooms, and 5,892 having three rooms or upwards.

The population of Trinidad by the census of 1871 amounted to 109,638, being an increase of 25,200 during the preceding decennial period. The excess of males was 11,172; the larger portion

of this being found, as was to be expected, amongst the Indian immigrants. Nearly three-fifths of the whole population are returned as natives of Trinidad ; 24,280 represent Asiatic immigrants, exclusive of children born in the Colony ; but there are only 605 Madeirans. As in British Guiana, the population is most unequally distributed over the surface ; nearly one-third of its area having only a proportion of four to the square mile ; whilst the districts including the two chief towns have 231. And also resembling that Colony, the varieties of nationalities are striking ; but this applies even in a greater degree perhaps to Guiana than to Trinidad. Beside natives of the United Kingdom, we have Dutch, French, Germans, Portuguese, Americans, East Indians, and Chinese, Africans and the aboriginal inhabitants ; and on some occasions it is possible to see illustrations of all gathered in the same concourse, the costumes of the Orientals, and the absence of costume of the last-mentioned race, lending character and interest to the scene.

The census of St. Vincent indicates the existence of 431—a not very imposing remnant—of the original Caribs ; the proportion of Europeans seems large, amounting to 2,844, whilst Africans figure for 24,707, and the mixed blood is represented by 6,721 ; the balance of 1,485 is made up of Asiatic immigrants, and of the aggregate population the males were only 16,865 against 18,823 females. The net natural increase of the population during the preceding decade is calculated at about 10 per cent., some 1,500 immigrants having been introduced from India. The mortality of the male population is found to exceed that of the female in almost every stage of life. Exclusive of still born-children, the births for 1871 were 47 per 1,000, and the deaths 28 per 1,000 ; marriages show a slight increase, illegitimate births maintain the proportion of about 56 per cent.

In Grenada the birth-rate for 1871 was 4.50 per cent. and the death-rate 2.52 per cent. ; the number of births registered was 1,730, and of deaths 971 ; the number of marriages solemnised was nearly identical with that of the preceding year, or 209.

The increase of population in Tobago in the decennial period was 1,644 ; this may be assumed to be the natural rate of progression, as an opinion is intimated by the Lieutenant-Governor that “an influx of immigrants would be beneficial, not only to the planters, but to the labourers themselves, who would be obliged by a wholesome competition to forego many of their idle habits.”

The census of St. Lucia gives rather more than 18 per cent. as the decennial increase of population over that of 1861, and the Administrator points out that as more people have left the Colony

than have come to it, the whole of this increase is a natural one. The equality in the proportion of increase in each sex is noteworthy, being 18.3 for males and 18.5 for females; the excess of females is much what it was in 1861, and hence the Administrator infers that the causes which produced it in the past, and still appear to operate in neighbouring Colonies, have disappeared from St. Lucia; the results justify Mr. Des Vœux' remark, that the reputation of the island for peculiar insalubrity appears to be without any adequate foundation.

Of the 27,178 persons composing the population of Dominica, the census taken in November, 1871, shows that there is an excess of females to the extent of 1,704; the total increase of population for the preceding decennial period being 2,118, or at the rate of 7.66 per cent. for males and of 9.11 per cent. for females. As a striking contrast to Barbadoes, here the great majority of the population are Roman Catholics, 24,000 out of the 27,000; the members of the Church of England only exhibiting 888 against 2,256 Wesleyan Methodists. The preponderance of Roman Catholics naturally arises from that system having been the religion of the original settlers, as well as of such of the inhabitants as migrated from time to time from Martinique. Even a larger proportion of the population is composed of natives of the island, who count for close upon 26,000, whilst only 55 are returned as of European birth. With respect to industrial pursuits, agriculture, as might be expected, bears the palm, being represented by 11,117 against 1,113 of the commercial class; of the balance 9,592 were children "under age," and persons unoccupied or living on their incomes.

Allusion has been made in the body of the Paper to some unsatisfactory features in connection with the condition of the population of Antigua. The census seems to have been taken in 1870, and the comments of the Colonial Secretary upon its results point to substantial improvement during the two or three immediately preceding years as contrasted with the experience of 1862, 1863, and 1864; the average death-rate for each of these years having been 46.8 per 1,000, whereas in 1870 it was only 34 per 1,000, whilst the birth-rate was 48 per 1,000. Of the births registered 841 were of boys and 757 of girls; the total number of illegitimate births was 69.6 per cent. of the whole number born. The marriage rate for the year was equal to 5.5 per 1,000 of the population. It results that the native population has decreased by 986 in the decennial period to which the tables apply: the causes assigned are an outbreak of small-pox in 1862, a severe

drought in 1863 and 1864, and the unwholesome condition of the numerous negro villages.

The population of St. Kitt's, according to the census taken in April, 1871, consisted of 18,259 males and 14,910 females, a total of 28,169, exclusive of about 2,500 occupying the dependency of Anguilla. In 1861 the population was 24,440, divided between 11,487 males and 13,003 females.

With regard to Montserrat the details, although not very full, are upon the whole satisfactory: the total population by the census of 1871 was 8,693 against 7,645 for 1861; in 1871 the births were 391 against 174 deaths; the birth-rate was 4.49 against a death-rate of 2.001 per cent. of the whole population. In the five years ended with 1871, the numerical excess of births over deaths was 800.

Nevis offers no particulars with respect to the constituents or progress of its population. According to the census of 1871 the total was 11,704 against 9,822 in 1861, divided between 4,526 males and 5,296 females. Immigration, upon a very moderate scale however, is suggested by the Colonial Secretary as urgently needed to prevent this fertile island from relapsing into difficulties.

The census of April, 1871, reported a total population for the Virgin Islands of 6,651, divided between 3,879 males and 3,272 females, against a total of 6,362 for 1861, representing 3,088 males and 3,274 females; the nett total increase for the decennial period being 289 souls. With respect to the progress of the races, there was a decrease of whites to no less an extent than 353, leaving only 123 in 1871 against 476 in 1861. On the other hand, the blacks had increased from 4,018 in 1861 to 4,565 in 1871, and the mixed from 1,557 in 1861 to 1,963 in 1871. Nearly one-half of the entire population are stated to be engaged in agricultural pursuits, and of the balance 1,572 are returned as children under 10 years of age. Wesleyan Methodists claim 5,418, and the Church of England comes next with 1,164. It will be observed, that whereas in 1861 there was an excess of 186 females, in 1871 the scale preponderated in favour of the males to the extent of 107: there is no influx of a male population, for emigration to the neighbouring islands is the rule; the explanation suggested is that the female population is visibly drained off, principally to St. Thomas. Amongst the causes of the 128 deaths which occurred in 1871 consumption takes the foremost place, representing 16 males and 22 females, or a total of 38; only 18 marriages are returned as having been celebrated in 1871, a number considerably below the average of the preceding ten years.

The census of the Bahama Islands was taken on the 2nd of April, 1871, and reported a numerical increase in the preceding decennial period of 8,875: the grand total of 1871 being 39,162 against 35,287, as given by the census of 1861. The relative proportions of births and deaths for the four years ending with 1871 appear to be of a somewhat remarkable character, being as follow:—

Years.		Births.		Deaths.
1868	..	1469	..	718
1869	..	1469	..	706
1870	..	1483	..	775
1871	..	1433	..	805

But little can be added in regard to the progress and condition of the population of the Turk's and Caicos Islands, formerly a portion of the Bahama Government, but now annexed to that of Jamaica. In 1861 the population amounted to 4,872, and in 1871 it was 4,728, exhibiting a much slower rate of increase within that decade than in the preceding one from 1850 to 1861, it having been at the earlier date 2,950: prevalent want and distress leading to emigration is suggested as the cause of the difference.

As regards the head of "Tonnage," it may probably suffice to refer to the returns of one or two of the leading Colonies by way of illustrating the course of trade. The total entries and clearances in British Guiana for 1871 amounted to 441,428, against 409,365 for 1870: the distribution of the whole being represented in the following table:—

	Entered.		Cleared.	
	Vessels.	Tons.	Vessels.	Tons.
United Kingdom..	301	105,719	125	48,785
British West Indies ..	237	43,788	283	47,541
Other British Colonies	135	31,853	66	12,204
United States ..	148	31,309	233	53,512
Foreign States ..	181	18,306	291	48,411
 Totals	 1,002	 230,975	 998	 210,453
 Ditto for 1870	 974	 212,631	 961	 196,734

As regards Barbadoes, Governor Rawson furnishes exhaustive details, from which the subjoined particulars are gathered. As in the case of British Guiana, 1871 exhibits a satisfactory increase over 1870, namely, upwards of 5 per cent. in the total number of vessels and 7·5 per cent. in the tonnage. Divided into British and Foreign, the comparative numbers stand as under:—

	Number.		Tonnage.	
	1870.	1871.	1870.	1871.
British ..	1,025	1,071	97,442	104,962
Foreign ..	236	256	41,093	43,799
 Totals	 1,261	 1,327	 138,535	 148,761

The increase in the trade in foreign vessels with the West Indies is more strongly marked in the vessels cleared than in those entered.

To West Indies and British Guiana :—

	1870.		1871.	
	Number.	Tons.	Number.	Tons.
British	875	57,970	878	57,481
Foreign	180	30,727	200	48,072

To other countries :—

	1870.		1871.	
	Number.	Tons.	Number.	Tons.
British	152	39,982	197	31,235
Foreign	43	9,392	47	10,860
Whalers	16	1,911	8	998
Totals	1,266	139,982	1,330	148,646

Twenty more vessels, chiefly under the United States' flag, averaging 240 in lieu of 170 tons and with an aggregate tonnage of 9,845, cleared from Barbadoes, chiefly to British Guiana, in the past year. It will be noted that in regard to whalers the number had diminished by one-half, but this obviously depends upon the number of fish in the Caribbean Sea. The percentage proportion of the total tonnage arrived in each of the two years from each country was as under :—

	1870.	1871.
United States	23	26
United Kingdom	17	23
British West Indies	16	17
British North America	10	11
British Guiana	10	9
Buenos Ayres	5	4
Peru	5	4
Foreign West Indies	3	4
Other Countries	11	2
Total	100	100

The proportion of tonnage of each nation was in 1871 nearly the same as in 1870, namely :—

British	70
American	21
French	4
Other Countries	5

100

As regards British Honduras, the greatest amount of tonnage registered of late years is recorded for 1868, when 81,424 were entered and 80,911 cleared. For the succeeding years the figures are as under :—

	Entered.	Cleared.
1869	27,792	30,324
1870	28,102	26,624
1871	24,887	25,735

Of the gross tonnage inwards in 1871, 18,185 tons were British.

Considerable transit trade exists in this Colony, not only with the United Kingdom and the United States, but with the neighbouring countries of Mexico, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Spanish Honduras. The commerce of Trinidad in 1871 engaged 860 vessels and an aggregate tonnage of 210,924, of which 567, with tonnage amounting to 125,828, were British.

The important subject of elementary education throughout the West Indies would require a separate article fully to explain its progress and condition; but I shall attempt as concisely as possible to abstract the details embodied in the several reports accompanying the Blue-Books, and which will, I think, abundantly bear out the statement in the paper as to the practical interest in the question manifested by the local Governments. I may premise, that during the lengthened period of Earl Grey's administration of the affairs of the Colonies, he urged upon the various legislative and other authorities, with characteristic earnestness and intelligence, the inestimable value of education as the best if not the only means of developing the newly enfranchised slaves into useful and orderly members of the community. With this view he issued in the year 1847 two circular despatches bearing especially upon the necessity of industrial training in the elementary schools. From the earlier of these, dated 26th January, I quote the following passages indicating the general scope of his Lordship's views:—

“It is impossible to look at the state of things in the West Indies, arising as it does out of unexampled changes, and tending, no doubt, to momentous issues of one kind or another, without perceiving that the education of the negro race is the great means by which emancipation may be made to result not merely in exemption from physical sufferings and brutalising oppressions, but in a moral and spiritual freedom resting on a stronger foundation than that of human laws, and comprehending an advancement in Christian virtues and happiness to which human laws can but very imperfectly contribute, except through the channel of education and religious instruction. . . . . Instruction not only makes labour intelligent and orderly, but creates new wants and desires, new activities, a love of employment, and an increased alacrity both of the body and the mind; and there is probably no example of a well-instructed population which is not also active and eager for work.”

With this despatch Earl Grey transmitted a report from the Committee of Council on Education, suggesting a scheme of industrial training assumed to be adapted to the wants of the West

Indies. But from a subsequent circular despatch, dated the 29th September in the same year, it is obvious that but little progress had been made in the interval in the practical application of the Government recommendations, nor could this be at all surprising to any one possessing local experience, for the proposal to employ the children industrially in gardens, or provision grounds, and especially in the cultivation of the sugar-cane, roused the sensitive suspiciousness of the parents that it was a scheme to convert them into estates' labourers, and it was quite common to hear them declare that if the children were to work at all in the field, it should be for *their* benefit, and not that of the teacher! It was quite true that the Moravian missionaries in particular had succeeded in carrying out, upon a moderate scale, the industrial training of the children attached to their own schools; but it was a very different thing to apply such a principle in what were known as Government schools, and affecting the mass of the population. Again, Earl Grey had suggested, as the appropriate means of providing the necessary funds, the imposition of a school-rate and compulsory payment of school-fees by the parents, with an alternative penalty for neglecting the duty of sending their children to school. But in the later despatch, his Lordship frankly explained that he deferred to the considerations which had been submitted to him by Sir James M. Higginson, then Governor-in-Chief of the Leeward Islands, as operating against the expediency of such enactments, namely, that there were peculiarities in the negro character interposing obstacles to the success of any such plan, by generating feelings of suspicion or irritation in the mind of that race, tending to defeat rather than promote education. The preferable plan, in the estimation of Governor Higginson, of inducing the voluntary co-operation of the peasantry, by holding out the prospect of education becoming the stepping-stone to social and political privileges and advantages, commended itself to Earl Grey's approval, and he suggested as an illustration that the electoral franchise might by law be restricted to such as being otherwise qualified could read and write; but although, if my recollection does not deceive me, the propriety of insisting upon this qualification was discussed during the enactment of a law in 1849 for regulating the elective franchise in British Guiana, I am not aware that it has anywhere been actually adopted and enforced.

With these preliminary remarks, I proceed to show the general state of education in 1870 and 1871, taking the several Colonies in the same order as before. In Jamaica, in 1870, 371 schools were on the list for inspection, being an increase of 101 over the

previous year, and of these 329 were actually examined, showing an increase of 67 as compared with 1869. A great difficulty existed in the scarcity of competent teachers, and the rapidly increasing demand for them led to the establishment of a Government Training-college at Stoney Hill, in August, 1870. At present the building will only accommodate fifteen students at a time, they are required to be between eighteen and twenty-four years of age, and to be provided with certificates as to good bodily health and moral character, and they are expected to be well acquainted with the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. The College course is two years, which may be shortened in cases of proved special fitness. The students have to undergo a preliminary competitive examination in the rudiments of arithmetic, grammar, geography, and natural science; they are boarded and lodged at the public expense, and the only fees they are required to pay are £3 at the commencement of the first, and £2 at that of the second year, which are applied to the formation of a library. It is worthy of remark that industrial occupation constitutes an important feature in the training of these students, who have also the benefit of a school for children, in which they assist in daily rotation, thus acquiring familiarity with the art of imparting instruction to others. Nine other students are maintained at the Missionary Institution, and another Government training-school is in progress at Port Antonio, as a branch of a Government training model-school, conducted by a remarkably efficient native schoolmaster; here there are six additional students in training, making the total number thirty. The progress of elementary education during the year was also reported to be encouraging, inasmuch as a steady and rapid improvement was observable in every direction. The number of schools registered for examination reached 441, of which 408 were actually inspected; 88,343 scholars were enrolled, the daily attendance was 19,644, the number present at inspection was 23,821. But these figures do not of course represent the total amount of instruction being imparted, inasmuch as exclusive of about 150 private schools, there are in operation three other model-schools, with an average of 193; twenty-seven endowed schools with 1,755, and five normal schools with 116 pupils. It is interesting to note the rapid progress of expenditure for educational purposes from the public funds within the last few years, thus:—

1866-67	..	..	..	..	£3,987
1867-68	..	..	..	..	4,120
1868-69	..	..	..	..	6,424
1869-70	..	..	..	..	9,190
1870-71	..	..	..	..	11,778

Whilst the estimates for the same object for the current year amount to £17,670, including a vote of £2,000 for the preliminary expenses of a College expected to be opened, the total amount contributed from all sources for educational purposes is estimated at in round numbers about £36,000. The payment of fees, varying from 1½d. to 6d. per week, by the scholars is insisted upon in all State-aided schools, and experience has proved that wherever this condition is enforced, the schools are held by the parents in higher estimation than elsewhere; nor only so, but this feeling is the stronger in proportion to the amount of the fees exacted. The principle of introducing some industrial element into the schools is gaining strength, though but slowly. In one school, indeed, the indefatigable perseverance of the patron, the Rev. E. Barrett Key, has surmounted all opposition, and in addition to agricultural employment, carpentering, coopering, and bricklaying are taught to the children. A special grant has been very properly awarded to this school, and the same principle has been applied to the schools in which girls are taught sewing. Sir John Grant closes his interesting Report with the remark that what has been the main cause of the rapid success which has rewarded in Jamaica the exertions of all concerned, is the perfect and unbroken harmony in which all denominations have worked in the cause of education and civilisation.

A substantially similar opinion is expressed by the Inspector of Schools in British Guiana, who says: "I take this opportunity of expressing my conviction that it is mainly, if not entirely, owing to the exertions of the several religious bodies that our people possess educational advantages, which are now placed almost everywhere within their reach." But he demonstrates that an unduly large proportion of the population between the limits of the school age, assumed to be between four and thirteen years, is growing up without any instruction whatever; the figures stand thus:—

But taking from the census the aggregate number of children available as 25,858, and deducting therefrom the recorded number 15,558, there remains a balance of 10,300, and making every allowance for mission, private, and other schools, which do not come under his inspection, he calculates on a residuum of nearly 9,000 unprovided for, or at least not enjoying the educational advantages available to them. As the Government grants for

1871 amounted to £17,263, exclusive of the salary and travelling expenses of the Government Inspector, it will be conceded that the pecuniary means are furnished with commendable liberality. The appropriation may be classed under the following heads:— Queen's College Grammar School; Bishop's College Training Institution; Roman Catholic Grammar School; Roman Catholic Orphan School; Training Masters and Pupil Teachers; Repairs of the fabrics and school books in aid of the general schools.

Of the 165 schools assisted by the Government, 56 belonged to the Church of England, 20 to the Church of Scotland; 5 were Roman Catholic, 24 Wesleyan, 29 London Missions and Congregational; 4 infant-schools, 5 estates' schools, and 7 Indian Mission Schools, in addition to which must be mentioned schools established on estates by the proprietors for the benefit of the children of the Asiatic immigrants, whose attendance, however, it is difficult to induce. According to the census of 1857, the population, which then numbered 127,695, represented the following educational results:—

Able to read and write	..	..	..	..	12,952
Able to read only	..	..	..	..	11,486
Not ascertained, or assumed to be wholly illiterate	..	..	..	..	103,277
					<hr/>
					127,695

The irregular attendance of the children is here, as elsewhere, one of the chief difficulties in the way of successfully imparting instruction generally, and the Inspector very naturally looks to compulsory attendance as the only efficient remedy; but it should be borne in mind, with reference to this serious drawback, that in very many localities throughout these possessions, there are times and seasons when access to the schools is periodically nearly forbidden to the children, since in the rainy season communication is almost altogether cut off for weeks at a time. With regard, again, to compulsory attendance in this Colony, the Inspector points out that great difficulties would present themselves in the great variety of races, the positions of the Asiatic immigrants, and the fact that a large proportion of the children are not really under parental control. In connection with this subject, I may be permitted to mention that about twenty years ago, when the local authorities in British Guiana were anxiously engaged in maturing arrangements for common schools throughout the country, I proposed to meet the difficulty by providing for a system of fines upon the parents for the absence of their children, for which they could be held responsible,

somewhat higher in amount than the school fee, and of course guarded by the necessary conditions for protecting those who were actually unable to pay, and securing the rights of such as should prefer to send their children to schools not receiving pecuniary aid from the State. Eventually, however, this project was given up, and although the denominational system was retained, after an ineffectual attempt to substitute one of a more secular character, yet the only resource for inducing the attendance of the children under the existing law is by requiring a certain proportion of local aid, either by subscriptions or school fees, or both combined, to be contributed as a condition of receiving Government aid. With respect to religious instruction, it is only to be imparted during a period set apart by the patron, and notified in the school, no child being compelled to attend if its parent or guardian object. There are three classes of certificated teachers, the second or third classes being respectively sub-divided into three sections; provision is also made for uncertificated teachers. As in Jamaica much difficulty is experienced in procuring an adequate supply of duly-qualified teachers, and with the view of meeting this want, the inspector urges the increasing the number of students at Bishop's College Training Institution, which, although obviously in direct connection with the Church of England, is open to and is taken advantage of by pupils of other denominations. At the Midsummer examination in 1871, for example, there were present two of the Church of Scotland, three Wesleyans, and two of the London Missionary Society, in addition to four of the Church of England,—a Wesleyan heading the list in Division III. of Class I. At the Christmas examination there were again four of the Church of England, one of whom failed to obtain a place, whilst another headed the list in the first division of the second class: there were two Church of Scotland, three Wesleyans, and two of the London Missionary Society. The Inspector also recommends the official recognition of the pupil-teachers, of whom sixteen were examined, and eleven classed at the latest examination; at present there are strong inducements to forsake the profession of teacher, by the higher incomes to be secured in other pursuits. The amount raised from fees and local contributions in aid of salaries was \$16,577 77c. in addition to \$1,183 17c. towards repairs; but the proportion of one-third, which is the condition of Government aid, was remarkably deficient in several schools.

In Barbadoes, where, as has been before remarked, the Church of England takes the lead amongst ecclesiastical denominations, the number of State-aided schools in 1870 was 141, with a register of

pupils amounting to 12,569, showing a slight reduction in the number of schools, but some increase in the number of scholars. They were divided thus:—

	Schools.	Scholars.
Church of England .. .. .. ..	120	10,610
Wesleyan .. .. .. ..	5	484
Moravian .. .. .. ..	16	1,475

Considerable sums were voted in aid of Codrington College Grammar School, and another educational institution known as Harrison's Trust Schools, and the attention of the Education Commissioners had been specially directed to the establishment and extension of infant-schools, the importance of which department is evidently beginning to be more generally recognised throughout these Colonies.

Governor Rawson had initiated a plan for making Codrington College a collegiate establishment for the neighbouring islands, in lieu of restricting it, as heretofore, to the status of a small theological school, and in his Report for 1871 he is enabled to state the nature and extent of the material aid afforded by the local legislature to both the College and Harrison's Endowed School. Towards the close of 1870, £600 per annum was allotted to the latter for ten years, besides an equal sum towards the purchase of a suitable school-house, and in the subsequent year a further sum of £400 per annum was granted towards the salary of a first-class head-master. Codrington College received a subsidy of £600 per annum for five years, and the conditions prescribed are that "Harrison's school shall provide for a sound and liberal education, embracing, in addition to the classics, a knowledge of French and German when practicable, and the elements of natural philosophy; and as to Codrington College Grammar School, that there shall be afforded to the public exhibitioners a deep and sound education, both religious and secular, as a practical training for business, as an adequate education for the great competitive examinations, especially those for Woolwich, and for all branches of the Indian Civil Service, and as a really scholar-like preparation for further instruction at Codrington College, or at the universities of the United Kingdom." It may be added that the chief manner of assisting these establishments has been by instituting scholarships, obtainable by competition, thereby relieving parents from about two-thirds of the ordinary charge for tuition.

Codrington College has, moreover, been supplied by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, under whose supervision it has always been, with the needful appliances for instructing the theological students, in accordance with the will of the pious

and liberal founder, General Codrington, "in physic and chirurgery, thereby qualifying them to be useful at once to the bodies and the souls of their people."

The system of remunerating the teachers of primary schools partly by results has been found to answer exceedingly well. At the third examination in 1871, seventy-five schools entered the lists, of which fifty-three belonged to the Church of England, fourteen to the Wesleyans, and the remaining eight to the Moravians, and it is added, "their relation to the State is identical, their organisation is the same, and their success tolerably equal." Governor Rawson remarks that assuming the Treasury contribution towards the cost of primary education at £4,000 per annum, it would give an average of six shillings, whereas in Demerara it was some time since six dollars, or twenty-five shillings; but it need be scarcely observed that the circumstances of the two Colonies are as different as possible.

Trinidad has been in no way behind-hand in the encouragement given to educational efforts for the benefit of its population. The returns furnished by the Inspector for 1871 show upon the whole fair progress as compared with 1870; for the last-mentioned year the number of pupils attending Government and State-aided schools was 8,250, with an estimated addition of 1,205 for attendants at denominational or private schools, whereas in 1871 the numbers were respectively 8,924 and 1,500; yet the increase is by no means commensurate with the requirements of the Colony. Of the total number of inhabitants by the census of 1871, 41,974 were returned as under twenty years of age; of these it is computed there were nearly 14,000 children within the limits of school age, whilst the returns show that only 5,424 were in connection with all the schools in the island. Two new schools were opened during 1871, one in connection with the Roman Catholic Church in Port of Spain, with a roll of 169 boys; the other under the management of a committee at S. Fernando, intended expressly for coolie children, of whom there were 98 in attendance, and several other private or estates' schools, for the benefit of the children of the Asiatic immigrants, had been established by one of the larger proprietors. Governor Longden reports considerable progress in the way of improvement since the date of the inspection of the Ward schools by Mr. Keenan three years since.

The Queen's Royal College, instituted during the government of Sir Arthur Gordon, with which the Roman Catholic College of the Immaculate Conception is now in connection, exhibits a total number of 142 students, of whom 185 were present at the latest or

December examination ; of these sixty-eight were supplied by the Royal College itself, and sixty-seven from the Roman Catholic College ; the great majority of these students passed. An addition to the professional staff had been made in the person of a teacher of chemistry, whose lectures will be open to the students of both colleges conjointly, and this pleasant feature the Governor hopes may soon be extended to all branches of science which are not affected by religious opinions.

Since September, 1870, the State contributions in aid of the primary schools are derived from a special educational rate, levied under the authority of the Education Ordinance of that year.

In Dominica the Board of Education is required by law to keep up one school at least in each parish for the reception of children of every creed, a plan which has been found more appropriate to the peculiar circumstances of Dominica, where, as in Trinidad and St. Lucia, the mass of the population is Roman Catholic, than the denominational system. It is remarked by the Inspector that there is still a multitude of children who would be at school but for the discreditable indifference of their parents.

In St. Lucia the income of the Education Fund is divided equally between two Committees, one composed of Roman Catholics, the other of Protestants. The fund itself is derived from an annual grant of £500 from the general revenue, and the proceeds of special duties and fines and penalties assigned for that object. The Protestant Committee grants its share to the Mico Schools, an institution which, it may be remembered, has been most usefully employed for many years in promoting primary education in the West Indies on the secular principle, the Bible being read daily without note or explanation. The Catholic Committee of course appropriate their available funds to the maintenance of their own denominational schools. There is no government inspection of any schools, but the Administrator suggests the possibility of providing for this much-needed duty by combined action with the neighbouring islands. In 1870 the ten Mico schools had 1,818 pupils on the rolls, and the seven Catholic schools 1,080. In 1869 the respective numbers had been 1,328 and 985, so that actually and relatively the increasing influence of the Roman Catholic clergy would seem to be indicated : the average number of scholars in daily attendance is about the same in both groups, or about five-eighths of the whole. The vernacular dialect of the people is a *patois* of French, containing but few English words, and Mr. Des Vœux intimates his opinion that the exclusive use of the English language in the schools is clearly a mistake ; and he

agrees with Mr. Keenan, whose valuable report on the state of education in Trinidad has been elsewhere alluded to, that reading should be first taught in the language of the country, and a knowledge of English acquired through it. The subjoined paragraphs of Mr. Des Vœux's very instructive report have a far wider application than to the limits of the island under his administration :—

“Another radical fault in the educational system is quite as apparent here as in Trinidad. A number of youths leave the schools, who, because they can read and write fairly, and have some knowledge of arithmetic, look upon themselves as above any other manual labour than that of clerkship. But the field for the employment of clerks being very small, many never attain to that position, and too often become not only useless but positively harmful to society. It is this class which furnishes the village lawyers and petition writers, who gain a precarious livelihood by playing upon the credulity of the more ignorant. Disappointed in life, they avenge themselves on society by fomenting dissatisfaction, provoking useless litigation, and inventing frauds; while others do nothing whatever, and live upon the earnings of their wives and mistresses.

“The best remedy for this evil would be the introduction of an industrial element into school teaching. By familiarising children from their earliest years with the tools of the labourer and the artisan, not only would their use in manhood be rendered more easy, but these false notions of dignity would probably be overcome by degrees, and eventually precluded altogether.”

In 1870 a Grammar School for boys was for the first time established in the island: it is superintended by a Roman Catholic clergyman; and the ladies of the Ursuline convent of S. Joseph conduct, as they do likewise in British Guiana, a very efficient school for girls, open to Catholics and Protestants alike. In the boys' school there were twenty-nine pupils, and exactly double the number in that for girls.

In Antigua the Commissioners report that in 1870 the attendance at schools had been greater than at any time during the previous four years, but that it is fluctuating and irregular, and must be so so long as comparative poverty urges the parents to seek employment for the child either at home or abroad: so long as teachers are obliged to exact school-pence from the children whose attendance they are powerless to enforce: so long, in short, as education is not rendered, at any rate to some extent, compulsory. As contrasted with 1869, the books show an increase of 185 in

numbers and of 96 in average attendance, whilst both years compare favourably with 1867 and 1868.

In St. Kitt's the total number of scholars on the books of the Government schools in 1870 was 2,901, and the average attendance, 1,782. The first-mentioned total is divided amongst the ecclesiastical denominations as follows:—

	Schools.	Scholars.
Church of England .....	13 .....	1,093
Wesleyan .....	9 .....	1,016
Moravian.....	6 .....	792
	—	—
	28	2,901

Of the Grammar School, the Principal reports that upon the whole he cannot speak hopefully, unless boys can be attracted from the rural districts and from the neighbouring islands by the provision of adequate boarding accommodation, so as to bring the number up to thirty or forty. He mentions that during the year he had received two boys from the rising portion of the coloured class, and he had reason to expect others: to them he considers that the gain will be very great, "provided that the staple element of the school should remain, as heretofore, white."

The reports under this head from the other Dependencies do not, I think, present any salient feature requiring special notice, and I trust that what precedes will suffice to give a fair though very concise view of the actual position of this important feature of their social condition.

The only remaining head which it has occurred to me as desirable to include in the Statistical Chart is the institution of Savings' Banks, and I think it will be regretted that they are not more generally and widely made use of. In British Guiana it will be observed with satisfaction that the several classes of immigrant labourers taken together, although not equalising the Creole depositors in numbers, largely exceed them in the amount of their deposits, constituting indeed nearly sixty per cent. of the whole.

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#### APPENDIX A.

It is a vulgar error, copied and repeated from one book to another, that in the Tropics the luxuriance of the vegetation overpowers the efforts of man. Just the reverse is the case: Nature and the climate are nowhere so favourable to the labourer, and I fearlessly assert that here the "primeval" forest can be converted into rich pasture and meadow land, into cultivated fields, gardens, and orchards, containing every variety of produce, with half

the labour, and what is of more importance, in less than half the time than would be required at home, even though we had clear instead of forest ground to commence upon. It is true that ground once rudely cleared, in the manner of the country, by merely cutting down the wood and burning it as it lies, will, if left to itself, in a single year be covered with a dense scrubby vegetation ; but if the ground is cultivated and roughly weeded, the trunks and stumps will have so rotted in two or three years as to render their complete removal an easy matter, and then a fine crop of grass succeeds ; and with cattle upon it, no more care is required, as no shrubby vegetation again appears. Then, whatever fruit trees are planted, will reach a large size in five or six years, and many of them give fruit in two or three. Coffee and cacao both produce abundantly, with the minimum of attention ; orange and other fruit trees are never done anything to, but if pruned would no doubt yield fruit of a superior quality in greater quantity. Pine-apples, melons, and water-melons are planted, and when ripe the fruit is gathered, there being no intermediate process whatever. Indian corn and rice are treated nearly in the same manner. Onions, beans, and many other vegetables thrive luxuriantly. The ground is never turned up, and manure never applied ; if both were done, it is probable that the labour would be richly repaid. Cattle, sheep, goats, and pigs may be had to any extent ; nobody ever gives them anything to eat, and they always do well. Poultry of all kinds thrive. Molasses may be easily made in any quantity, for cane put into the ground grows and gives no trouble ; and I do not see why the domestic process used in the United States for making Maple-sugar should not be applied here.

Now I unhesitatingly affirm that two or three families, containing half-a-dozen working and industrious men and boys, and being able to bring a capital, in goods, of fifty pounds, might in three years find themselves in the possession of all I have mentioned. Supposing them to get used to the mandiocea and Indian-corn bread, they would, with the exception of clothing, have no one necessary or luxury to purchase : they would be abundantly supplied with pork, beef, and mutton ; poultry, eggs, butter, milk, and cheese ; coffee and cacao ; molasses and sugar ; delicious fish, turtles and turtle's eggs, and a great variety of game would furnish their table with constant variety, while vegetables would not be wanting, and fruits, both cultivated and wild, in superfluous abundance, and of a quality that none but the wealthy in our land can afford. Orange and lemons, figs and grapes, melons and water-melons, jack-fruits, custard-apples, pine-apples, cashews, alligator-pears, and mamee-apples are some of the commonest, whilst numerous palm and others forest fruits furnish delicious drinks which everybody soon gets very fond of. Both animal and vegetable oils can be procured in abundance for light and working. And then, having provided for the body, what lovely gardens and shady walks might not be made ! How easy to construct a natural orchid-house beneath a clump of forest trees, and collect the most beautiful species found in the neighbourhood ! What elegant avenues of palms might be formed ! What lovely climbers abound to train over arbours or up the walls of the house !—*Wallace, "Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro."* *Lond.*, 1853, pp. 334-336.

## APPENDIX B.

We have commenced in this impression to publish the Reports of the District Medical Officers on the condition of the population in the rural districts, and the details which they give will afford anything but pleasant reading. The publication of the vital statistics of the Colony have already made us painfully aware from time to time of the decreasing numbers of our population, the death-rates having for the last ten years, according to the Registrar-General's returns, exceeded the births by 0.78 per cent., while the decrease shown by the Census returns is still greater. Other communities around us have in the meanwhile been progressing rapidly by natural increase; thus, while in 1805 the population of Antigua was 40,800, and that of Barbadoes 77,180, in 1871 the population of Antigua had fallen to 34,344, while that of Barbadoes had increased to 160,000; and this comparison is the more startling when we find Governor Rawson of Barbadoes stating that the birth-rate of our island has been all the time in excess of the birth-rate of Barbadoes, in proportion of course to the number of the inhabitants in each place. Our climate has been pronounced, and with justice, anything but unfavourable to human life, and its salubrity is attested by numerous European and other residents, who generally declare that they enjoy at least as excellent health here as in any other place they have ever lived. The cause of the decay of our population may therefore be looked for from sources other than the influences of climate, and it is with the object of resolving a question which has become the vital question of the day that our Government has called for special reports from the medical officers in the several districts. To know the source of an evil is the first step towards providing a remedy, and it is in this spirit, with this object, that our government has at length vigorously devoted itself to a task of investigation which we hope will result in a great social revolution.

Dr. Freeland has evidently bestowed much pains on the subject of the inquiry which he was charged to institute, and his evidence points painfully to the vast havoc which is yearly made of infant life by the systematic neglect of those who are its natural guardians. In the more advanced life of the labourer, destitution, arising from various causes, from improvidence, habitual disregard of domestic and moral obligations, as well as from the frequent occurrence of seasons of drought, he believes to be among the direct occasions of premature mortality among the people; but he emphatically draws attention to the wholesale destruction of life at the periods of infancy and early childhood, his conclusion being that neglect at these periods when it does not at once destroy, incapacitates more than anything else the young constitution from passing through the maladies incidental to childhood; and hence the loss at this stage of existence of numbers who otherwise would live to become strong pillars in our social fabric. No wonder, then, that we find the Doctor, an estates' proprietor himself, prescribing as the first and chief of his remedies the establishment

of nurseries on the several cultivated estates of the island, to look after labourers' infants, when either indifference induces or necessity compels the mothers to be absent from their offspring. And the Doctor goes further, and recommends that every estate be compelled to furnish one meal a day to such children of the labourers under ten years of age as may be assigned to it after an enumeration of the number of children in the parish. It was gratifying to hear in the Council only last week that Mr. Holborow, of Betty's Hope, had already with success been adopting this plan, and that Mr. Martin, at High Point, had, with an issue however not in accordance with his praiseworthy intentions, been experimenting in this good way. Other gentlemen in the country may, for aught we know to the contrary, have been travelling in this humane direction, and if so they have not only been doing a kindly thing, but have been also wise in their generation. As Mr. Semper reminded honourable gentlemen in the Council on Thursday, property has its responsibilities and duties as well as its claims, and this fundamental truth applies with equal force to the village proprietor and to the estate owner. The obligation which Dr. Freeland would cast upon the estates of relieving to some extent the more helpless class of their labourers, is but instituting a system of poor-rates, though in a form different from that which prevails in England; and on the score of outlay, where the object, as the Doctor well says, is to "save to the country a native peasantry and obviate the necessity of resorting to a doubtful and expensive immigration," no rational objection can be raised. The plan, Mr. Holborow, who has tried it, said, does not cost much, and is repaid to the estates by the more healthy condition of the young people, fitting them indeed for labour which otherwise they could not perform. We have no doubt that many planters will be found willing enough to follow the laudable example both of Mr. Holborow and Mr. Martin, but all have not the same freedom of action, nor perhaps the same pressing inducements. If the project is to be adopted universally as a system, it is obvious that Government must undertake it, and impose a special tax to defray at least part of its cost; and from this tax of course the villages, from which are drawn the bulk of the agricultural population, could not in fairness or good policy be exempted.

Not the least interesting feature of the report which we have been noticing is a number of questions addressed to female labourers, residing either on estates or in the villages, and the answers given disclose a state of demoralisation among the people which helps to account for much of the poverty and infantile suffering brought to light, and will disappoint perhaps many people who have been looking for better results from the teachings and example of schoolmasters and the ministrations of the clergy. Forty-three child-bearing women were examined, some married and some not, and to these were born 295 children, of whom 124 only had lived, while Dr. Freeland, who has to a considerable extent forestalled the labours of the commission which his Excellency the Administrator has appointed to inquire into the condition of our peasantry, concludes his exhaustive report by remarking that he had collected "nearly sixty similar cases to the above, all more or less proving destitution, poverty, and neglect, and a total disregard and indifference to the consequences of concubinage. Poverty is not, however,

peculiar to any particular state; let us therefore postpone preaching, and at once feed the dying children of our labourers."—From the "*Antigua Observer*," December 14th, 1872.

#### APPENDIX C.

We are enabled in this issue to lay before our readers outside the Colony an approximate account current of the transactions of the sugar estates during 1871, which will give them some idea of the extent of the cultivation, and of the large sums of money kept in constant circulation throughout the country. The account is made out by an eminent statistician long connected with sugar cultivation, who has based his calculations on the information of their workings, given by 61 estates to the "British Guiana Directory" for last year. Of this number 37 were vacuum-pan estates, having 23,661 acres in cane cultivation, of which they reaped 20,955 acres (82 per cent. of the whole) to make 37,151 hds. of sugar and a quantity equal to 13,651 puncheons of rum, being an average yield of 1.77 sugar and 57 gallons of rum to the acre. The remaining 24 were common process estates, having 10,634 acres in canes, of which 8,785 (82 per cent) were reaped, giving a return of 15,140 hds. of sugar and 5,768 puncheons of rum, the average per acre being 1.72 hds. of sugar and 65 gallons of rum. Of the 70 estates that did not publish their workings, 38 were vacuum-pan which made 38,592 hds., and 32 were common process, which made 15,159 hds.; making the grand total of last year's crop 75,743 hds. vacuum-pan sugar, and 30,299 hds. common process sugar, which sums united (106,042) agree, after allowing the quantity necessary for home consumption, with the return of the Custom-House of the sugar exported for the year ending December, 1871. Following up the information gained from the published result of the working of one portion of the crop, and assuming that the other portion was made from a similar acreage, we have a total cultivation of 69,520 acres, of which 42,722 acres were cut to make 75,743 hds. vacuum-pan sugar and 27,831 puns. rum; and 17,580 acres were cut to make 30,299 hds. common process sugar and 11,639 puncheons rum; the total being 60,802 acres of canes, or 86 per cent of the entire cultivation, cut to give 106,042 hds. of sugar and a quantity of rum equal to 39,370 puncheons. This return from the fine cane lands of British Guiana cannot be considered favourable; certainly it is not a heavy crop, and it is hard to reconcile the figures with the return of three and four hds. per acre we have heard some people brag of.

The approximate value of the above produce is as follows, say:—

75,743 hds. V.P. of which 10 per cent is 2nds. at ...	\$106	\$ 8,028,758	0
30,299 hds. C.P. at ...	85	2,575,415	0
39,370 puns. rum at ...	50	1,968,500	0

Total value of Crop ... ... \$12,572,673 0

To conduct the agricultural and manufacturing departments necessary to produce the above crop, a pay-list would be required of...\$ 4,600,000 0  
Expense Account as follows:—

Packages—Sugar hhds. 106,042, at \$4 50 ...	\$477,189	0
Rum packages, 39,370 at \$7 50 ...	294,275	0
Fuel—Sugar, at \$6 per hhd. ...	636,252	0
Rum, at \$3 per pun. ...	118,110	0
Draining engines, 86 working 50 days at 3 tons per day, 5,250 tons at \$7 ...	36,750	0
Artificial manures at \$10 per acre ...	695,200	0
Immigration—Planters' share ...	427,712	0
Hospital expenses, including comforts and medicines for 49,000 people at \$7 per caput	843,000	0
Medical men's salaries ...	63,898	0
Cottage accommodation, including extension and repairs at 10 cents per caput per week	254,800	0
Staff, including attorneys, town agents, managers, engineers, overseers, &c. ...	700,000	0
Drogherage, including carriage of produce to market and supplies to estates... ...	500,000	0
Lime, bisulphate, sulphuric acid... ...	300,000	0
Lubrication and lighting ...	150,000	0
		4,997,181 0

Tear and wear of machinery and other things, say 75 plants, with vacuum-pans, &c., complete at \$80,000... ...	\$6,000,000	0
56 com. process, plants at \$40,000... ...	2,240,000	0
35 draining engines ...	1,004,000	0
At 10 per cent... ...	\$9,244,000	0
		9,244,000 0

Premium on insurance, about ...	75,000	0
Live stock and keep (not including grass). ...	100,000	0
Commission on sales of produce \$12,572,673 at 1½ per cent ...	\$188,590	0
		363,590 0
		\$10,885,171 0

		Cr.
Sugar and rum Account...	...	\$12,572,673 0
		Dr.
Pay List. ...	...\$ 4,600,000	0
Expense Account ...	... 6,285,171	0
		10,885,171 0
Apparent profit... ...	... 1,687,502	0
		\$12,572,673 0 12,572,673 0
Stock Account—		
75 vacuum-pan estates making 75,743 hhds., at \$140 ...	\$ 10,604,020	0
56 Common process estates making 30,299 hhds., at \$180	8,988,870	0
		\$ 14,542,890 0

The foregoing clearance shows a profit of 11 and a fraction per cent. on the working. In 1870 a return was sent in to the Government, showing that there were 70,000 acres of land in cane cultivation; instead of planters being enabled to increase the area of cultivation on the following year, they were obliged to let it decrease, simply through a deficiency of labourers to till the soil. During 1871, 13 new vacuum-pan plants took the place of the old common process ones, 2 V.P. plants were thoroughly renovated, and 5 new hospitals were built, at a total cost of \$904,000 nearly, one half of which amount was spent in Colonial material and labour. In fact so great was the demand for artificers that hands could not be procured at any price, and much delay in erecting new machinery took place in consequence. As we have said already, the circulation of the large sums necessary to carry on the sugar industry of the Colony is the life of all the minor branches of industry. Its influence is to be seen to greatest advantage in the appearance of George Town at the present day, as compared to what it was say twenty years ago. It has brought into existence foundries, dry dock, steam-saw mills, shipbuilding yards, and the various workshops scattered broadcast over the city, all giving employment to thousands, whose occupations are dependent not indirectly, but directly, on the requirements of the sugar plantations.

Much has been said about the heavy expense of living in the Colony, and with truth, but can it be wondered at, so long as the peasantry to whom we might look for the principal supplies of food, are satisfied to give their labour to the estates, at a rate that enables them to limit their toil to two or three days a week? Until we have a frugal, hard working peasantry (such as the Chinese promise to be), who will take the hidden riches out of the soil in the shape of root and green crops, and raise poultry, sheep, and pigs to supply the demand at lower rates than the American farmer can with all his disadvantages, living is not likely to become any cheaper. To see the effect of a crowded population, and a consequent low rate of wages, on the price of the ordinary articles of food, we need only look to Barbadoes, where the labourers are compelled to supplement their earnings by diligently squeezing from the soil all that it can yield, and by raising stock of different kinds on a plan so frugal, that it might be said with little exaggeration, an animal is reared on the space its shadow covers on their rack-rented piece of ground; the consequence of this is, that they can afford to send their stock and provisions over to Demerara, and undersell our people in their own market. As it is not generally known what can be done by the small farmer in growing provisions here, the following authentic instance of the productiveness of the soil may be of some interest to most of our readers. A piece of waste ground, about a quarter of an acre in extent, on a sugar estate, was broken up, ridged, and planted with sweet potatoes in November last, at a cost of \$15; four months after a Chinese labourer offered the manager \$40 for the crop, which he would lift at his own expense, and of course the Chinese had an eye to the satisfactory profit he would make of the bargain by selling the potatoes, retail. Here we have a return equal to \$160 per acre, in the third of a year, without including the crop of pumpkins, peas, shalots, and other vegetable grown round the borders of the plot. But the potato is not the

only vegetable that gives a handsome return for the cost of growing it. Here is a copy of a Plantain Journal, showing the yield of the ground under cultivation during a period of four years:—

First year ... ...	\$85	... ...	\$8,987	... ...	\$3,432	64
Second year... ...	127	... ...	20,276	... ...	5,955	14
Third year ... ...	153	... ...	26,694	... ...	12,327	39
Fourth year... ...	161	... ...	14,853	... ...	4,560	69
	<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>	
	\$476		\$70,809		\$26,275	86

From this it is seen that the average yield per acre during the four years was 150 bunches, and that the average price per bunch was 37 cents, making a return of \$55 20 per acre. In plantain cultivation, sweet potatoes, cassava, tannias, &c., may be grown between the rows and be made the means of paying the expense of the plantains' cultivation, with a balance over to the good. We publish these returns simply to show that the cause of the dearness of provisions, which is said to tell so hard on the middle class of the population, is not owing to the absence of inducement to the labouring class, in the matter of profit, to grow them. An industry like this that requires no capital, and gives such a handsome profit, lying in a great measure neglected, clearly shows what a powerful temptation the wages paid by estates hold out to our agricultural labourers. Until our labourers are brought to the alternative of working six days in the week to gain a comfortable living, or adopting the occupation of provision growers, there is little chance of our vegetables and small stock being reduced in price. We should be sorry to see them as hard driven to make ends meet as are the labourers in that ants' nest, Barbadoes, though there is so little chance of this ever happening that we may save our anticipated compassion; but a keener rivalry in the labour market would do them, as a class, a world of good, by the necessity of sharpening their wits, and strengthening their energies, from being thrown more on their own resources. The natural increase of the present population will never be the means of creating this desired rivalry; the way to bring it about is the way by which the interests of the Colony at large will be advanced, that is, by the continuance of the Government in the present wise undertaking of introducing labour from abroad.

#### APPENDIX D.

##### THE WEST INDIES.

There can be little doubt that among the great changes, political, commercial, and social, of our present very mutable era, a revolution on a very large scale is imminent in the Caribbean Sea. In saying this, we do not allude to the weekly revolutions which, on a small scale, come round as regularly as bakers' bills throughout all those American countries which once owned the rule of Spain. The chronic upturnings of what in those countries stands for society, are now become a part rather of the established order of things than of a revolution properly speaking.

They excite no surprise, for most Spanish-Americans, whether resident on an island or the mainland, would be rather more astonished than pleased at passing a month without an overthrow of the previously existing government: and being past, they leave things very much as they were before they took place. We look for something a great deal more universal in its influence, more permanent in its consequences, and we may hope, less violent in its action. Nor do we base this judgment merely upon the active interference in the political concerns of these countries of the powerful Government of the United States, or the renewed interest shown in Jamaica within a recent period by the Government of Great Britain. Below and beyond all these mere symptoms, lie powerful elements of a social upheaval, in the natural characteristics and political conditions of these countries, added to the vast progress which all the rest of the world has recently made. There are, perhaps, no other countries on the globe so rich in agricultural wealth, nor more beautifully situated, nor with better sanitary resources than some of these specks of territory strung round the semi-circular line which closes in the shore of Central America between the Northern and Southern divisions of the Continent. For sugar especially, but also for several other of the most valuable of the agricultural productions of the world, there are no lands like those of the West Indies. Their situation in mid ocean procures for them at regular intervals the advantage of cooling breezes, and several of them have in the interior high mountains to which the inhabitants can resort by very short journeys, to escape from the extreme heats of the lower levels, where the plantations and commercial cities are to be found. Yet with all the causes of prosperity the populations of these countries are, as a whole, far behind the rest of the civilised world. Cuba and Porto Rico it is true may boast of a certain kind of prosperity enjoyed in a very large measure; but it is enjoyed only by a caste, the bulk of the population being still in the condition of slaves. In the other islands complaints of commercial stagnation have long been rife, and, though perhaps exaggerated, undoubtedly lead to the conclusion that the people are not satisfied with the results of their various pursuits. Now we hold that in an age when capital and enterprise, closely allied together, are seeking in all directions for fit openings for employment, it is impossible to believe that such chances as are presented by the West Indies can be much longer neglected. It is from men desirous profitably to invest their surplus capital, and from other men looking out for opportunities of making their business talents available, rather than from political combinations, that we expect to see the West Indies revolutionised. Political changes will come only and so far as they may be necessary to open and secure the path to commercial and industrial improvement, and for that purpose the two great organisers of communities, England and the United States, are at hand. There is little doubt that engineering talent will be speedily directed to the solving of the old problem of piercing the Isthmus between the Pacific and the Atlantic—a movement that must give fresh importance to the West Indies, and must add to the other causes which promise an advance in their prosperity. The English islands will speedily be brought under a system of confederation which will greatly

facilitate, and it may be hoped in some important respects liberalise, their governments. Whether the other islands shall come under the direct political influence of the American Union or not, the mere agitation for that change indicates the necessity that will shortly be felt for placing their governments on a better footing, as it is certain that those who desire to avoid the annexation now so much talked of, must supersede it by something that will be, in the opinion of the people at least, nearly as good. Upon the whole, we judge that the hour has nearly sounded for a complete change in these islands, both in their internal conditions, and their relations with the rest of the world.—*Extract from Montreal Newspaper.*

#### APPENDIX E.

##### THE LEASE OF SAMANA BAY.

*New York, January 15.*

My letter of a month ago would, I presume, be the first intimation English readers could have of the private project on foot to obtain possession of Santo Domingo. The facts therein stated were substantially correct, though some of the details, as is usual in such cases, were inaccurate. The object of the Company, it seems, was to obtain possession, not of the whole island, but of the Peninsula and Bay of Samana, which they have just attained. A carefully-prepared charter-treaty was some time ago drawn up, signed by President Baez and the Company, whereby the latter obtained control of Samana for a yearly rental of \$150,000 (gold). This treaty the Dominican Senate has now ratified, and the most important part of the island is, therefore, virtually annexed to the United States.

Dr. S. G. Howe, of Boston, one of the incorporators, thus describes, in a letter to the *New York Tribune*, the powers and purposes of the Company:—

“The general features of the Samana Bay Company are like those of the old East Indian Company of Portugal, Holland, and England, in regard to extent of power; and to new and vast fields in which to exercise it. It may be instrumental in bringing about a revolution in the commercial and social condition of the West India Islands, as important and more beneficial than those effected in Asia.

“The Company has eminent domain over the whole Peninsula of Samana; and in the vast bay, with all its islands and reefs. It may exercise the sovereign power of framing laws for the government of its territory; appointing its officers of police, judiciary, and commerce; levying and collecting taxes; establishing custom-houses; fixing duties on imports and exports; building railroads, wagon-roads, canals, and telegraph lines within its own territory; and, by special contract, throughout the whole of the Dominican Republic, taking in return alternate leagues of public land. The Company may build, officer, and man ships, establish a bank, and exercise most of the general powers of sovereignty. It has bought up all grants and concessions previously made by the Dominican Government for lands, mining privileges, wharves, railroad lines, and the like, of whatever

nature. The owners of almost all these grants and concessions are members of the Company, and they have formally renounced in writing all ownership and interest, direct or indirect, in favour of the Company. It has the virtual monopoly of all the future opportunities of establishing companies for railroads, steamboats, mining or other purposes, by an article in the Convention, which requires that the Dominican Government shall never charter, authorise, or tolerate any such company, without first having offered to the Samana Bay Company a charter for the same purpose on the same terms.

“A contemplation of the objects and powers of the Company, of the wide field of its operations, and of the rare opportunity which it has of concentrating within its bay the currents of trade between Europe, the United States, and the South American market, and especially its avowed purpose to open a free port, which shall supplant that of St. Thomas—these things bring to mind, as was just said, the great achievements of the old East India Companies, and the deeds of men like Albuquerque, Clive, and Rajah Brooke. There is a wide difference, however, between the motives that led Europeans into the tropics and the measures which they took to carry out their purpose, and those which animate this Company. The first went down in the spirit of conquest. They had no other warrant or authority to possess and govern heathen lands than charters given by kings and potentates, who themselves had no other right or authority to dispose of them than that impudent assertion of a personage mentioned in the Scripture who offered to give away all the kingdoms of the earth. The virile men of the North went down to *exploiter* and virtually to subjugate the fertile South; to lay heavy burdens upon the people; to make them labour in mines, and toil in the fields, with no sense of duty to make them share in the profits and to improve their country by reciprocity of advantage. They came unexpected and uninvited. They took possession by violence, on sham treaties, and resorted to force when they could accomplish their purposes by no other means. The present Company goes virtually at the invitation of the Dominican people, and goes as a friend. It proposes to introduce all the modern improvements in the means of transit, in agriculture, and the mechanical arts. It means to improve the country and to elevate the people, believing that by so doing it will more promote its own interests than by following the selfish and short-sighted policy of the old companies. The Company has leased the territory by a regular treaty made with the Government of the Republic, which is authorised to make it by the laws of the land, and encouraged to do so by the expressed wish of the people.”

The *Tribune*, commenting thereon, says:—

“The news which we publish this morning of the ratification of the treaty between President Baez and the Samana Bay Company of Santo Domingo is of high importance, not only to the adventurous merchants who have embarked in this remarkable enterprise, but also to the whole country. . . . . This treaty places the Santo Domingo question in a new light. American merchants undertake to regenerate the Republic for their own profit; and, as they go about the work in a business-like way, with large capital, with ample privileges, and with the strongest possible

interest in doing it well, we may fairly presume that they will succeed where the United States of America would probably have failed. They have rolled all the jobs into one, and legitimatised it. They can bring in Yankee energy and shrewdness wherever it is wanted. They can offer inducements to settlers which neither Baez nor Congress could have offered. When their country is fit to be made a State of the Union, they can let it come in upon just and equal terms. Meanwhile, the United States will contribute nothing to the support of the growing community, and will have the satisfaction, such as it may be, of flying its flag in the West Indies—whereat we trust the annexationists will be duly happy."

#### APPENDIX F.

##### THE SANDWICH ISLANDS, THE FUTURE SUGAR COUNTRY OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE PACIFIC.

The question has frequently come up for consideration, both in and out of Congress, whether we should not strive to become as much as possible materially independent of all other commonwealths. Much national pride attaches to the idea, and with the exception of certain metals, and coffee, sugar, and tea, we are at the present day materially independent of the rest of the world. We might, on a emergency, dispense for a couple of years, while engaged in a war, even with coffee and tea, but we could not well do without the importation of sugar, tin, and spelter.

Cuba, the most important country to us, as the source from whence we draw the bulk of our sugar supply, we may eventually become the owners of, in somewhat the same manner as Louisiana and Florida were acquired, by either cession or purchase. To wage a war for the acquisition of the Island would evidently not pay, since the financial disturbance in our midst would endanger interests too mighty to be trifled with.

But the continued dependence upon Cuba for sugar may be to some extent circumvented, either by our acquiring St. Domingo, and reinstating sugar culture there, as it stood under Spanish and French sway, adding to it the cultivation of coffee on an extensive scale ; or we may become the owners of the Sandwich Islands and convert them into a second Barbadoes, covered with sugar plantations.

The acquisition of St. Domingo would have become a positive fact by this time, if the plans of President Grant had not been, for political purposes, assailed by Sumner and Schurz and rendered unpopular by newspaper agitation. We shall consequently not now consider this plan of obtaining a sugar and coffee Colony at our very doors, although it be not altogether abandoned.

As a less unpopular substitute for St. Domingo, we have the idea suggested to the nation of acquiring in one way or another the Sandwich Islands, a most convenient mid-ocean half-way station on the path to China and Japan.

Their possession would give us a sugar-producing country of the first class, right off; and should we be able to procure the amount of manual

labour we need for the purpose, not many years would pass until, from 50,000 hogsheads of sugar, we should raise the production to four times as much.

Hawaii, the main island, occupies 4,500 square miles of the 7,500 constituting the area of the whole group. Jamaica has an area of 5,500 square miles.

In a couple of years we should produce as much sugar in the ten islands as Jamaica has done in her palmiest days, and our Pacific States would be altogether independent of Java and Manilla for all time to come, so far as our main staple of imports were concerned.

Another important consideration would be the opportunity we should have of practically solving the question of desirableness of acquiring islands confronting our coast, whether it be on the Atlantic or Pacific shore.

Were the peaceful possession of the Sandwich Islands to prove a national boon, that of St. Domingo would be better appreciated should we think less unfavourably of it in the meantime. As it is, the Polynesian group, called the Sandwich Islands, ships all its sugar to San Francisco already, and from the moment the flag of the Union waved over them, the advantage of coming in duty free would render sugar culture so profitable there, that planters would remove to Hawaii from all quarters, from the United States, from Java and Manilla. None of the drawbacks of night frosts experienced in Louisiana, would hinder cane cultivation there, and there would be no country like Cuba, as in the case of Louisiana, to compete with slave labour, near at hand, against the free labour of Hawaii, for Java and Manilla are distant from the Pacific States. That the Sandwich Islands will eventually become American, little doubt can be entertained. The question has arisen whether it shall be now, or whether English influence shall prevail and a mock throne be again raised there, a laughing-stock to all nations, because deprived of all dignity.—*American Grocer.*

#### APPENDIX G.

##### REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED TO INQUIRE INTO THE WORKING OF THE CENTRAL SUGAR FACTORIES SYSTEM IN MARTINIQUE AND GUADALOUPÉ.

*To His Excellency E. D. BAYNES, Esq., Administering the General Government, &c. &c. &c.*

SIR.—We, the undersigned, a Commission appointed by His Excellency the Governor-in-Chief, at the request of the Legislative Council, to inquire into and report upon the working of the Central Sugar Factories in Martinique and Guadalupe, have the honour to submit the following Report.

We arrived at Basseterre, Guadalupe, upon the 13th June, and proceeded without delay to the town of Point-à-Pitre, where the largest central

factory, or usine, in the French islands is situated, the "Compagnie Sucrière, E. Souqué et Cie., commonly called "L'Usine d'Arboussier." This factory stands in the suburbs of the fine seaport of Point-à-Pitre, is constructed upon the grandest scale, and is replete with all the improvements in machinery and the manufacture of sugar devised by modern science. The cost was £216,000, and the usine, when a third mill now being put up is available, will be equal to an out-turn in the first six months of the year of from 8,000 to 10,000 tons of sugar. It commenced operations on the 5th April, 1869, but did not get regularly to work until the 25th. The first season was completed with part of the copper machinery not fitted up, and at no time was the usine supplied with sufficient canes to keep its mill going. The supply of canes is derived from both divisions of Guadalupe, the Volcanic and Calcareous. From the former they are conveyed in large lighters towed by steam-tugs; from the latter by the tramway, several miles in length. The canes are carted by the planter to his nearest point on the railway, or shore, and thence by the usine to the destination, where they are weighed by a sworn agent in the presence, if required, of a representative of the estate. The planter receives 5½ per cent. of the weight of his canes of "Conne quatrième," equal to No. 12 "Dutch Standard," the price being regulated by the market at Point-à-Pitre at the time the canes are delivered.

The process of sugar manufacture at this usine is as follows. The canes are bought by the planter to a siding of the main tramway on his estate. The waggon generally carries two tons of canes, and one mule on a good level ordinary tramway can draw easily two waggons. The waggon, when brought to the mill itself, conveys the canes to the rollers, the megass being elevated by power to a platform over the boilers. The juice on leaving the mill-bed falls through three strainers into a tank which has a double bottom heated by steam. It is treated here with a little bisulphate of lime, and is then run into a montejus. This montejus by steam sends the juice up to the clarifiers, where it is heated in the ordinary way and tempered with lime properly. From this it is passed to the charcoal filters, through which it gravitates, and then passes by a gutter into a receiver. From this it is passed to a montejus, and is thrown up by steam into a cistern over the triple effet. From this cistern it gravitates into the triple effet, passing from the first to the second and from the second to the third boiler, as the attendant wishes. When it leaves the third boiler it is generally speaking 25° "Beaumé" and it is immediately passed over new re-burned charcoal. It gravitates through this and falls into another receiver, from which the vacuum-pan takes it up and boils it to sugar. The first quality sugar is generally crystallised in the pan, and is then dropped into sugar-boxes which stand 7 ft. from the ground; under these boxes a little charging vessel runs on a railway that is hung from the bottom of the said boxes, and this vessel conveys the sugar over the centrifugals, where it is cured; the molasses from this being boiled up, when found in good condition, with the syrup of the following day. When these molasses are thick and clammy they are boiled into jelly by themselves and dropped into sugar-boxes, where they are allowed to granulate for a number of days. This makes the second

quality of sugar, and the molasses from this, along with the skimmings and subsidings of clarifiers, goes to make rum. The juice that leaves the clarifiers does not pass over fresh charcoal, but follows the syrup from the triple effet, thus assisting to wash out the sweets which may have been left by the syrup.

The figures following show the weight of canes delivered to the factory in the three years commencing 1869:—

	Tons.	Kilos.
1869	17,808	17,808,217
1870	42,808	42,808,079
1871	68,745	68,745,493

This year, notwithstanding the severe drought, the receipt of canes was upwards of 75,000,000 kilos, or 75,000 tons.

Thus in the first three years the growth of canes upon plantations under contract to the usine had quadrupled, and the management, accused at first of having established a factory in a district devoid of canes, have been compelled to erect a third large and powerful mill with its accessories to provide for the reception of the normal quantity of canes expected, viz. 100,000,000 kilos, or 100,000 tons per annum.

This factory pays 5*1/2* per cent. for its canes, and the figures following show the financial results for the three years ending 1871:—

	Profits.	Loss.
1869	£4,385	
1870	—	£440
1871	<u>28,899</u>	
	33,284	
Deduct	<u>440</u>	Loss in 1870.
Leaving	<u>£32,844</u>	Balance to Cr.

A profit of £7,000 was expected in 1870. Severe losses sustained on produce shipped, owing to failures during the late war in France, and other circumstances connected with that trying and exceptional year, are assigned as the reason for the failure of profits at the usine in 1870.

In 1870, 6,096 "boucauts" of sugar of 500 kilos each, equal in round numbers to 3,000 tons, were obtained from the 42,808 tons of canes received, or 7*12* per cent. of sugar. 3 per cent. of syrup was also obtained, which was converted into 470,486 litres = 117,620 gallons, of rum, of an average centigrade strength of 60 degrees equal to 39*1/2* gallons per ton of sugar.

In 1871, 10,651 "boucauts" of sugar, or 5,325 tons, were obtained from the 68,745 tons of canes received, or 7*7/4* per cent., composed as follows:—First quality sugar, 6*2/4* per cent.; second and third quality, 1*50* per cent. A minimum average return of 8 per cent. is confidently expected when not less than 25 per cent. of plant canes are regularly forwarded from the contributory estates to the factory.

The superintendent, in a report made to a General Meeting of the Shareholders on the 24th April, 1872, and unanimously adopted, remarks that this factory was compelled after its second campaign to refuse the offer of fresh contracts, and to increase its working power 50 per cent. to enable the usine to keep pace with the rapid increase in the production of the estates

engaged. "But two years ago," says M. Souqué, "a lack of canes was dreaded; now an excess of supply is to be feared."

This usine in April last, the third year of its existence, declared a first dividend of 24 per cent., exclusive of 4 per cent. carried to credit of the "Sinking Fund Account." The general manufacturing and working expenses of the usine in 1871 amounted to 2,394,298 francs, or £117,732. The sugar realised 3,543,867 francs, or £141,754; the proceeds of rum were 306,894 francs, or £12,275; equal together to £154,029, showing a profit upon a simple debit and credit account (without charging interest upon capital, wear and tear of stock, &c.) of £36,297 upon a manufacture of 68,745 tons of sugar and of 731,193 litres or 182,798 gallons of rum.

We had not the advantage of seeing this great laboratory at work, the operations for the year being ended.

The Commissioners beg respectfully to observe here, that the processes of manufacture both of sugar and rum in all the usines, both in Martinique and Guadalupe, visited by them, are more or less identical, the only perceptible difference being the adoption in the new factories of the appliances of modern science and improved mechanical and other arrangements. The clarification of the juice, its reduction to syrup at a low temperature, the perfect crystallisation and colour of the sugar, and a maximum return, are obtained by repeated filtration through animal charcoal, the "triple effet," and vacuum-pan processes, and last of all centrifugal machines.

A great drawback at present to the Usine d'Arboussier is the want of fresh water; salt water is obliged to be used, as also water derived from wells decidedly brackish. The injury to the boiler tubes and other machinery from using salt water has been so great that arrangements are now being made, at a great cost, to bring fresh water to the usine from the other division of the island.

We take leave of this "palace factory" with the remark that the proprietors of contributory estates, as well as several shareholders with whom we had the pleasure of conversing, expressed themselves perfectly satisfied with the present condition of affairs, and very confident as to the permanent success of the usine. The shares originally issued at 500 francs are now quoted at 1,000 francs, but none are to be had. We were informed upon good authority that estates which before the establishment of usines were in debt, or constantly changing hands, were now in a flourishing condition, and that others which had almost fallen out of cultivation were now making excellent crops.

We had the pleasure and advantage of several interviews with M. Souqué, whose family possesses a small private usine called BEAUPORT, not far from Point-à-Pitre. We were unable to visit this factory, but we were informed by M. Souqué (and his statements were confirmed by independent testimony) that this usine purchased canes from the neighbouring estates, paying 6 per cent for them, and that upon a manufacture of 2,000 tons of sugar per annum the clearances of the usine were very handsome. The precise amount was not however communicated to us, but we observe that Mr. Russell, a gentleman who appears to have visited Guadalupe from Demerara three or four years ago, in some notes of his visits entitled "Two

Weeks in Guadaloupe" speaking of the Beauport Usine, states the books show that they cleared £19,400 upon 59,963,371 lbs. canes purchased (1868). These figures show a profit of about 14s. 6d. per ton of canes purchased. Mr. Russell states the quantity of sugar made in 1868 to have been 2,600 tons, and 62,700 gallons of rum, or a return of about 210 lbs. of sugar and 1½ gallons of rum per ton of canes manufactured. The Usine CLUNY is, we were informed, in general respects a similar factory to that of Beauport, and canes are brought by water in punts from a distance of twenty miles and afterwards conveyed some miles further by tramway to the usine.

The Island of Guadaloupe is divided into two parts by a narrow channel called the Rivière Salée, running north and south. The western portion (Guadaloupe proper) is of volcanic origin; it is mountainous, well wooded, and abundantly supplied with water; its soil, resulting from the disintegration of trap and conglomerate, is generally of a stiff argillaceous nature. The eastern portion is entirely calcareous; its surface is undulating, the hills nowhere attaining any considerable elevation: they are generally cleared of wood. It suffers much more now from drought than the western part, the inhabitants deriving their supply of water chiefly from wells and ponds, as in Antigua: in fact, in its general features and climatal conditions it bears a considerable resemblance to that part of our island lying north-east of a line drawn from Dickenson's Bay on the north-west to Willoughby Bay on the south-east. It is in this portion of the island, called Grande Terre, that the "Usines Centrales" are situated.

Leaving Point-à-Pitre, the Commissioners traversed the Island of Grande Terre in a north-east direction to the small port of Le Moule, at short distances from which are several usines constructed on a smaller scale than that of D'Arboussier. The country in this part of the island bears much analogy in its soil, climate, and general aspect to the corresponding part of Antigua. The soil is generally a dark-coloured loam on a marly subsoil, overlying rock composed of indurated marl and a limestone made up of comminuted shells and coral. The water is derived from ponds, wells, and cisterns, there being no running water of any consequence. The canes appeared to be suffering from drought in the same degree as those of Antigua. We were unable to ascertain positively the amount of rainfall, as it does not appear to be the custom to have pluviometers on estates, as with us.

USINE ZEVALLOZ.—The method of manufacture here was generally the same as D'Arboussier,—charcoal filters, triple effet, vacuum-pan and turbines. There was, however, a feature which we did not observe at the latter place, viz. the employment of refrigerators for economising the water supply. These consist of high sheds open on all sides, in which are placed strata of fascines. Over these is conducted the waste water which has served for condensation in the vacuum-pans, &c. &c., and percolating them it falls into a cistern underneath, its temperature reduced to that of the atmosphere; thus reduced, it is again available for condensing purposes. Zevalloz makes 2,000 tons of sugar. It works night and day. It employs 140 hands by day, and the same number by night. The greatest distance from which it brings its canes by rail is 3½ miles; they are carted by the

planter to his nearest point on the railway, from that at the expense of the usine. This railway, with material, cost between £1,600 and £3,200 per mile. The breadth between the rails is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  yards, and the speed attained six to ten miles an hour. The USINE DUCKASSAING is on the same principle and scale as that of Zervalloz. They both pay 6 per cent. of the weight of the canes.

The labouring population in this district has not increased since the establishment of central factories : about 50 per cent. of the hands of the separate sugar-works, when these were abolished, were required to work the usines, the planter thus gaining 50 per cent. of the hands employed about the works. After crop many of the usine labourers assist in the cultivation of the estates; others till their own plots, being generally small land-holders. In ten years the price of labour has augmented by  $\frac{1}{2}$ . Here again we were informed that estates within easy distances of the central factory which formerly were in a chronic state of indebtedness are now clear, prosperous, and well cultivated. The appreciation by the planters themselves of the beneficial effect of the usines was evidenced by their continual desire to have the line of railway extended so as to enable them to forward their canes. At the commencement there was considerable difficulty in coming to an arrangement where proprietors were under engagements to consignees, but as the latter (here called commissionnaires) were almost always residents, or represented in the Island, they agreed to wait; the planters in the meantime paying a commission, as before, upon the quantity of sugar made at the usine from their canes, the Director being guarantee. In some cases the usine took up these debts. After the disconnection of the planters with the commissionnaires, the Colonial Bank advanced money for the purposes of cultivation at 6 per cent., the usine being security for their repayment.

We quitted Guadaloupe for Martinique upon the 18th of June, but our steamer having been in communication with St. Kitt's and Trinidad, two ports declared infected on account of small-pox, we were refused permission to land, and were forced to proceed in the steamer. At each successive island the same ill fate attended us, and we had no alternative but to change steamers at St. Lucia and proceed to Demerara ; upon our arrival there we were admitted to *pratique*, and remained until the return of the steamer upon the 26th. We were detained over forty-eight hours at Barbadoes, and did not reach our destination at Martinique until the 1st July, when two of our number were enable to land, Mr. Harman being compelled to return home. Martinique differs from Guadaloupe in having no calcareous formation ; its origin is purely volcanic, and its physical geography, soil, climate, &c. resemble those of the western half of the latter island. The rainfall appears to have been superior ; during our stay it rained nearly every day.

USINES.—These are situated principally on the north-east of the island ; there is only one on the south-west side, close to St. Pierre, called LA RIVIÈRE BLANCHE, which is newly established, having only worked three weeks at the end of last crop. It has all the latest improvements in machinery and apparatus, is capable of making 2,500 tons, and its cost, everything included, was £48,000. It consumes from 400 to 650 kilograms of

coals to the 1,000 kilograms of sugar made. The process is the usual charcoal filters, triple effet, vacuum-pan, and centrifugals. They had not a sufficient supply of canes this year, but expect a large development of cultivation in the neighbourhood, chiefly by the small proprietors. This usine gives 6 per cent. for its canes.

We proceeded without delay to Fort de France. Near this town is the first factory established in Martinique by an Englishman, twenty-five years ago, **POINTE SIMON**. It did not succeed well at first in consequence of want of experience, defective machinery, &c., but is now paying well: it gives, however, only 5 per cent. of the weight of canes.

**DILLOVI.**—This factory is situated about three miles from St. Pierre. The works are well constructed and very compact, with all the latest appliances. The length of the building is 72 metres, breadth 38 metres. It was in full working order eighteen months after it had been ordered in France. The machinery is by Lecointe and Villette, and the cost of the usine alone amounted to £44,000. The railway, which is twelve miles in length, has been very expensive in consequence of some mistakes in its construction, as well as the marshy and unfavourable condition of the soil. This has crippled the Company; but full confidence seemed to exist as to its ultimate success, and much clearing is being effected of the neighbouring low hills. This was its first year of full working order. It has 4 boilers, 1 triple effet, 20 pans, 16 turbines, 20 filters. The scum is pressed and the cake used as manure. The specific gravity of juice 9 to 10 Beaumé, 1,100 tons of sugar were made for the present crop, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  ton of coal was consumed per ton of sugar. This usine made a profit this year of 250 tons of sugar and 1,000 casks of rum of 250 litres each, selling at 90 francs = £3 12s. per cask. The sugar sold at £40 per ton. The mean weight of canes was found to be equal to 28 tons per acre.

**DISTRICT OF LAMENTIN.**—This a fine alluvial valley, surrounded by mountains of trap and conglomerate, which are covered to their summits with dense forests (an ordinance of the Government forbids the felling of this:); as a natural consequence it is abundantly supplied with running water. The soil resulting from the disintegration of the volcanic rocks is a stiff red clay, resembling closely that seen in Antigua in the valley between Drews Hill and Green Castle. All the old sugar-mills are worked by water power. The canes in this valley are of a rank luxuriant growth, but the juice is of a low specific gravity, averaging about 9° Beaumé. In the private works in this district it is calculated that one ton of sugar costs, in expense of cultivation £10, and for general expense, £4; total £14. The quality of sugar made sells at £22 per ton: each ton of sugar gives 50 gals. molasses, which made into rum is worth £2. Produce £24; deduct expenses £14; leaving a profit of £10 per ton.

Two factories are established in this district, viz., Lareinty and Soudan. **LAREINTY** is one of the oldest factories in Martinique, having been working for ten years. It gives only 5 per cent. for its canes. Its contracts with the planters are about to expire, and it is improbable that they will renew them upon the same conditions, as they generally complain of the percentage being too low. Their properties, however, are in good

cultivation, and they are free from debt. An estate in the neighbourhood was shown us, from which the proprietor (now resident) in former times had much difficulty in obtaining a revenue of £100, and which is now leased by the usine at £1,000, and it is probable that this sum will be doubled at the expiration of the lease.

**Soudan**, situated three miles from Lareinty, is not yet completed; it is entirely built of iron, of great strength, with latest improvements, and has a fine railway. It is established on the 6 per cent. principle, and has numerous adherents. All around these factories the evidences of progress and improvement are palpable, the lower slopes of the hills being cleared and planted on every side.

**Usine Robert**.—We had not time to visit this factory, situated on the other side of the island, but in an interview with its Director we learned the following facts. It is calculated to make 2,000 tons, and the cost of plant was £60,000. The percentage of sugar was 6½ to 7 per cent.; of juice, 68 to 72 per cent. In 1871, quantity of canes ground, 22,300 tons; in 1872, 19,500 tons. The quantity of sugar made was nevertheless the same, so that in 1871 the percentage extracted was 6·29; in 1872, 7·09—the total quantity of sugar made being 1,400 tons. Coals used, including steam-tugs, 1,117 tons. The cinders and residue of press are given to planters. The average of rum obtained from molasses is 70 per cent.

**GENERAL REMARKS. Cultivation**.—The tillage and preparation of the land in the French islands are not so complete as in Antigua, and weeding of the canes is not regarded as of such vital importance as in this island. A common double mould board plough (French) with six or eight bulls, opens the land in furrows. Without, in general, further preparation, the cane plants, from eight to ten inches long, are inserted in either side of the furrow. We did, however, observe the use of the cross plough upon several plantations.

**Stock**.—The Commissioners were much impressed with the condition of the stock, in Martinique especially, and the evident care taken of them. Magnificent bulls of the Spanish and Senegal breed, of large size, and teeming with condition and strength, grace the meadows waving with nutritious and luxuriant grasses. The plough and draft cattle are stall fed and penned up at night under cover, and the manure is carefully collected, the pens being heavily meated with the abundant trash from the fields. The Spanish yoke, or "draught by the horns," the yoke being supported upon the nape of the animal's neck, is almost universal. The weight and physical strength of the animals nurtured upon the fat French pasturages fits them for such an application of draught power. In a desiccated island like Antigua, generally devoid of rich, well-watered paddocks and grazing land, and supporting only animals of inferior size, this asserted economy of draught force appears impracticable.

**Labour**.—Ordinary labourers get 10d. per day and 1s. at night. We were informed at D'Arboussier that there was some difficulty at first in getting the native labourers to work at night, and coolies were specially imported for this purpose.

**Investment**.—As affording the means of investment, usines both in

Guadaloupe and Martinique are in the highest popular favour. Capital both local and in France is freely subscribed to establish new factories upon a large and extensive scale. No less than eight factories, erected at considerable cost, have cropped up within the last two years, and two more large factories are now being erected. This is surely strong presumptive evidence that usines return a very handsome profit. We are able to endorse Mr. Russell's remarks in his notes before referred to, namely "that in passing through the country the difference between the tillage of those selling their canes and those manufacturing at home is most marked. In the one case the canes are no sooner out of the fields than the gangs and stock are at work preparing the land for the next crop, and all the fields tidy and clean. In the other case fields are left to take care of themselves until crop season is over."

*Usines profits.*—Upon a crop of 300 tons it is estimated by Mr. Kelly the usine would clear 200 francs per ton after paying the planter 6 per cent. Mr. Kelly adds that, large as this is, he was inclined to think from all he had heard it is near the truth.

In most usines hydraulic or other presses are employed for extracting the remanets of juice from the skimmings. The former are carefully returned to the clarifiers, the residuum being a hard cake which is used for fodder and manure.

*Clarification of juice.*—This is mainly effected with common lime only, the use of the bisulphate of lime being rare.

*Use of charcoal.*—The filters are filled with animal charcoal, which is covered with the best and softest fresh water procurable. Syrup is first passed through them for twenty-four hours; afterwards the juice from the clarifiers is sent through them for a like period. The effete charcoal is revivified by washing in pure fresh water, and subsequent re-burning in furnaces especially constructed for that purpose. The absolute loss of charcoal is estimated from 12 to 14 lb. per ton of sugar. The cost of charcoal per ton of sugar, including cost of labour engaged in washing and other work and expenses for passing juice and syrup through the charcoal and other contingencies, is about sixpence per cwt. The use of bisulphate of lime is estimated in Demerara to cost about the same sum per cwt. An almost inexhaustible supply of pure fresh water is indispensable for washing the charcoal; water charged with earthy or saline matter will not suit, as the absorption of these by the charcoal is not rectified by the revivification process.

*Rum and stills.*—We were much struck with the distillery process and apparatus, and the superior quality of the rum manufactured at the usine. The stills are worked by steam, with continuous action, and a very pure spirit without any flavour of acetic ether (proof strength) is obtained, more resembling common *eau de vie* than rum in appearance and flavour. The average return, we were informed, was one puncheon per ton of sugar.

*Advances.*—Most usines, we were informed, both in Guadaloupe and Martinique, make advances to their contributory estates to assist the clearance and opening up of waste land as well as for the purchase of manures and stock. These advances are deducted from the next crop, and are made

with a liberal hand ; for instance, the advances made this year by the usine D'Arboussier amounted to £60,000. These advances without doubt have led to the great increase of cane cultivation in these islands, and reaches of country uncultivated for years have become weighted with sugar-canæs. The advantage to all classes is manifest ; villagers and others residing close to estates under contract to a central factory with spare lands now in waste would be induced to grow canæs upon these lands for their mutual benefit, upon terms which the interest of the proprietor would make easy for the cultivator.

We beg respectfully to refer to an article in No. 24 of the *Sugar-Cane*, and dated 1st July, 1871, page 376, and continued in No. 25, page 393, headed "French Central Factories," which gives an interesting *historique* (taken from the *Journal des Fabricants de Sucre*) of these establishments. As is forcibly pointed out by the writer, the first experiment made upon a large scale during a series of years, and accompanied by mischances and exceptional social conditions, has fully proved the soundness of the principle of separating agriculture from manufacture. What the isolated planter, bare of resources, was unable to do, the association of capital and concentration of labour fully realised without injury to the chief functions of the planter, which, on the contrary, have been greatly facilitated."

We were abundantly satisfied, and in fact it was proved to demonstration, that such a separation of the two conflicting interests of agriculture and manufacture has been a relief to the planter, and has converted him from the stagnation of despair and apathy to a life of energy and prosperity. It has been stated that the Central Factory system must ultimately conduce to the exhaustion of the soil on those estates supplying canæs to the usines. That whereas in the ordinary system of manufacture little, if any, of the mineral elements of the cane are finally abstracted from the soil, these being restored in the form of megass ash, distillery refuse, &c., in that of central factories they are absolutely lost. This, it was admitted, was true ; but it has been provided against by the increased employment of chemical manures, these being composed so as to return to the land the principal mineral matters of which the cane has been, by analysis of its ash, found to deprive it. The most successful of these manures was generally considered to be that recommended by M. Georges Ville, an eminent French chemist, and formerly Director of the experimental farm of the Emperor, in the preface to the last edition of his work entitled, "*Les Engrais Chimiques*" (Paris, 1872.) It consists of the following ingredients in definite quantities : Super-phosphate of lime, chloride of potassium, sulphate of ammonia, sulphate of lime.

D'Arboussier imports this manure and advances it to its adherents, enjoining its liberal application. A member of the Committee on a former visit was shown a field of fifth ratoons which by its use was yielding two hogsheads per acre.

*Process of manufacture in Demerara.*—The Committee during their enforced stay here employed their time in inspecting the principal sugar-works in the vicinity of George Town. The process employed in all these works is the following :—

The canæs are brought to the main line of tramway by the planter. The fac-

tory takes them to the mill, where the waggon is tilted up by a similar method to that employed in the French usines. The megass is elevated and is put by boxes running up on a elevated railway into "logies" or the yard to dry. The juice flows from the mill through the strainers into a pump, getting treated with bisulphate of lime *in transitu*. The pump elevates it to the clarifiers, where it is cracked, racked, and treated with lime. From this it flows on to the copper wall, where it is cleaned thoroughly, and is raised by montejus into subsiders, where it is allowed to rest nine or ten hours. From these vessels the vacuum-pan draws the juice and boils it to sugar, the first quality being crystallised, and cured as soon as possible. The molasses, when good, is worked into syrup of the following day until they get so thick that they darken the first quality. They are then boiled by themselves, and form the second-quality sugar, being allowed several days to granulate in the coolers; the skimmings from clarifiers, and copper wall, and the subsidings from syrup boxes and the molasses from second quality sugar, going to make rum.

It will be seen that the essential difference between this and the French process is the entire elimination of the charcoal filters and triple effet, and with them the necessity of a large supply of pure water—a matter of much importance where this cannot easily be procured. This process is certainly simpler and less expensive, but whether it extracts the same amount of sugar from the juice may be doubted. We were unable to procure any positive data on this point. The charcoal filter separates from the juice not only the faecal matter, but also the soluble salts contained in it. The presence of these (principally salts of soda and potash) is known to have the effect of preventing a certain amount of sugar from crystallising. Experiments were instituted this year to decide this point in two of the principal factories of Martinique during the last fortnight of their working, but the results have not yet been published.

In conclusion, we cannot too strongly recommend the establishment in this island of a central factory calculated to make from 1,500 to 2,000 tons of sugar annually. The absence of an indispensable supply of fresh or soft water, not to speak of the cost, renders, in our opinion, the French usine system impracticable here. We must discard filtration by charcoal, and the triple effet. But it appears to us that the Demerara system would be admirably adapted to our requirements, while the cost is comparatively moderate. It must be remembered, too, that the quality of sugar made in Demerara is better suited to our markets, and commands higher prices, than the French usine sugar. In other words, the process of manufacture we recommend would retain alone the multitubular boilers, clarifiers, subsiders, vacuum-pans and centrifugals. We have seen an estimate by an experienced engineering firm of the cost of a factory to make 1,000 tons of sugar in twenty-six weeks, and it appears to us sufficiently interesting to state it in this Report.

*Estimate of factory.*—To make 1,000 tons of sugar in twenty-six weeks in the same way as at Demerara, and which at the average of 7½ per cent. sugar to the ton of canes would require 13,335 tons of canes, costing at 6 per cent. £17,600.

The Machinery of this would be—	£	s.	d.
Mill gearing and engine ...	1,400	0	0
6 clarifiers and piping ...	600	0	0
Double copper wall, 6,000 gallons	850	0	0
24 600-gallon subsiders ...	960	0	0
Vacuum-pan ...	700	0	0
Engine for ditto ...	450	0	0
6 centrifugals and gearing ...	600	0	0
2 mult. boilers ...	900	0	0
2 mult. boilers loco. ...	1,000	0	0
Sugar-boxes...	500	0	0
Cane and megass carriers ...	250	0	0
Molasses-boxes, &c. ...	250	0	0
Pumps and piping...	600	0	0
Distillery ...	1,500	0	0
Buildings ...	1,500	0	0
Extras ...	1,000	0	0
 Total cost of machinery...	£13,060	0	0
Charges, freight and cartage £1,000 0 0			
Foundations ... 740 0 0			
Erecting ... 1,000 0 0			
 4 miles tramway ... 2,000 0 0	2,740	0	0
Waggons ... 500 0 0			
30 mules @ £40 ... 1,200 0 0			
Megass Logies ... 1,000 0 0			
 £20,500 0 0	4,700	0	0
Engineer's shop and cooperage ... 1,500 0 0			
 Total ... 22,000 0 0			

The same firm estimates the working of the factory at the following prices:—

12 men at mill...	... 124	16	0
5 " " megass ...	39	0	0
2 " " clarifier ...	20	16	0
10 " " copper wall...	104	0	0
25 boys & girls carrying megass	130	0	0
1 man at pen...	13	0	0
1 " " subsiders ...	10	0	0
2 men cleaning and attending	15	12	0
4 " " curing (centrifugals)...	41	12	0
15 " at tramways ...	127	16	0
2 " " boilers ...	20	16	0
 Manager ...	500	0	0
2 overseers...	200	0	0
Engineer and staff ...	400	0	0
30 mules (keep and feeding)	600	0	0
 1,700 0 0			
 £2,347 8 0			

The following list of the usines last established in Martinique and actually at work, giving 6 per cent. for their canes, may be found interesting:—

Dillovi.....	established 1871	Sainte Marie....	established 1872
Marivi.....	"	Soudan .....	" "
Rivière Salee...	" "	Rivière Blanche	" "
Trinte .....	" "		

These usines have all contracted to pay 6 per cent. for their canes, and from all we could learn, no proprietor would now be willing to enter into fresh contracts at a less rate, while the general confidence in the power of the usines to pay 6 per cent. is shown by the ready manner in which their shares are placed. In a newspaper called *Les Antilles*, dated 6th July, 1872 several of these usines had advertised a dividend of 8 per cent. for the first six months of the year, it being understood that a further and larger dividend is always declared at the end of the year.

*Local market.*—The planter can readily dispose of his produce as soon as it is fit for market upon the spot, both in Guadalupe and Martinique. Daily sales take place at a fixed hour in the forenoon upon the quays, and the competition amongst speculators for shipment is very keen, the telegraph being freely resorted to govern operations. The planter sends his produce to the selling place; here, at the time of auction, sample casks are opened at either ends so as to show the footings as well as the head sugars, and an average estimate is then made by the purchaser of the quality of the entire cask, and this estimate governs the price offered. The great advantage in every respect to the planter of a ready and immediate sale for his produce for cash upon the spot is too obvious to need comment. Rum is readily sold, and in any quantity, the consumption in France and the French colonies being very large. All molasses not turned into sugar is converted into rum.

*The Livret system.*—Vagrancy in the French islands is effectively repressed by the system known as the *livret* system. The police are empowered to arrest any one who cannot give a satisfactory account of his or her employment or means of living. Amongst the peasantry it is the practice to obtain a certificate or *livret* from their employers, which shows their engagements. Any person found wandering about without a *livret*, and who cannot explain satisfactorily the reason why he is out of employment, is liable to be punished by imprisonment as a vagabond. This system works very successfully, and compels the labouring portion of the people to industrial habits. So far as we could learn, there was little or no "squatting" in the French islands, though there are extensive ranges of uncultivated mountain and dell.

*Para-grass.*—This a fine grass which is said to be indigenous in Guadalupe and Martinique; it grows in profusion in the fields, and is a most succulent fodder for cattle. We were told that it was a very useful agent in keeping down obnoxious grasses, while it does itself but little permanent injury to the young canes, and is easily removed when required from the land. We observed fields of young canes that appeared to be choked with the rank luxuriance of the Para-grass, but we were assured by more than

one planter that this was not the case, and it appeared to be the custom to let it grow among the canes until they were three or four months old. From all we could learn, its introduction into this island would be very beneficial.

Before leaving either island we submitted a series of carefully prepared questions in writing upon general subjects connected with Central Factories to disinterested persons, who promised to procure for us replies from reliable sources. We much regret that these have not yet been received, the explanation offered being that time had not sufficed to procure them. We should thereby have been enabled to give ampler collateral details in this Report, which we cannot close without stating that our warmest thanks are due for the kindness we received at the hands of those gentlemen in Guadaloupe and Martinique to whom we were introduced or to whom we applied for information. Our thanks are especially due to the Ordonnateur of Guadaloupe, M. Maze, and to Messrs. Gramm and Du Chaissaing of that island, and to the English Consul, Mr. Lawless, and Messrs. De Pompeymaier in Martinique. The latter are extensive landed proprietors, and in addition to the warmest private hospitality, enabled us by their introductions to obtain much valuable information from shareholders in usines and from the proprietors of contributory estates.

**R. FRENCH SHERIFF.**

**F. B. HARMAN.**

**J. C. PURVIS.**

DISCUSSION.

Sir JAMES WALKER, on being called upon to open the discussion, said he must reserve anything he had to say until he could read the paper and study it. He wished to express, however, as an old public servant—perhaps the oldest present—his satisfaction at the fact that the West Indian Colonies were no longer put into the background, but were received into the category of English Colonies. Formerly, when they read of the colonies, it was all America or Australia; now, however, the West Indian Colonies ranked amongst them. (Hear, hear.)

Sir RICHARD GRAVES MACDONNELL thought with the last speaker, that to do justice to Mr. Walker's paper they should have the opportunity of first seeing it in print. As an old Governor of one of the West India Islands, and as one who had held a governorship in Australia and North America, he begged to thank the lecturer for the attention he had given the subject, and for the manner in which he had treated it. He was most gratified to think, and statistics conclusively showed, that those Colonies were rapidly advancing in prosperity. As the matter was such an important one, and one that could not be handled without reference to actual statistics, he thought it would be better to adjourn the discussion.

Mr. J. A. TINNÉ (Chairman of the Demerara Railway Company) said, although not a member of the Institute, he felt bound, as a member of the West India Committee, and as one intimately connected with British Guiana, to express his obligations to Mr. Walker for drawing public attention to the West Indian Colonies.

Mr. EDWARD WILSON observed that the discussion so far did not seem to take quite the same animated form that they were accustomed to, the principal reason he supposed being that the previous papers which had been read referred more to colonies that were better known to the majority of the members than the West Indies; but he thought Mr. Walker was entitled to their gratitude for having introduced to their notice very interesting regions about which many present were so little informed. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) He might say it was the case with himself. He knew very little about the West Indies, but he must admit that he had derived a great deal of information respecting them from the paper. There was one point which he was particularly struck with—one that ought to be prominently considered with people

interested in the colonies—and that was a point indicating great knowledge of national interests and an admirable insight into all the causes of national warfare. When Mr. Walker spoke of the evil effects of importing or exporting too much of one thing, he (the speaker) could not help thinking of the many valuable exportable articles which our colonies were capable of producing, and which would be sure to find a market in some part of the world. Mr. Walker referred to the vast resource of the West India Islands and their fine range of products, but he warned them about leaning too much on the industry of sugar, and very rightly considering it might be competed with, and very likely would be competed with by the cultivation of the beet. He (the speaker) was much struck a little time ago with a report sent home from the present governor of Jamaica, suggesting the cultivation of fruit in the West India Colonies. It was stated that those islands could grow nearly all the most expensive fruits now sold so largely in England. If such was the case a very beautiful industry was opened—an industry which would doubtless prove highly profitable, and one which, while there was a good steam service, was capable of being utilised to a much greater extent than people generally imagined. But the main point upon which he wished to speak upon was the great want of a museum in this country for the exhibition of colonial productions. It was really shocking, considering the splendid varieties of products the colonies might furnish, that they had never been able to obtain such a museum on a scale of national importance. He would urge Mr. Walker to recommend it in his paper, and would ask him to bring specimens of the different productions of the West Indian Islands; let the Australians also bring specimens of their products, and let Canada and the other colonies join with them, and then let there be found a suitable place where all these articles could be exhibited—a place conveniently located in town where any enterprising young man who had got restless in his nest could go and walk from case to case, and determine whether he would grow sugar, wool, coffee, cotton, or what not. Such an exhibition would practically represent the worth of our various colonies. He was sorry to see, and especially when he remembered that it was to have been part and parcel of their scheme, that no action had been taken in this matter by the Royal Colonial Institute.

Mr. LEONARD WRAY, as an old West Indian, said he wished to thank Mr. Walker for his able and interesting paper. At the time he arrived in the West Indies, the noble chairman's grandfather had just quitted the island. He (the speaker) had passed ten

years of his life in the West Indies, and had seen the inhabitants in their slavery, their apprenticeship, and their freedom. Mr. Walker's paper recalled the hope that every West Indian must cherish, namely, that those islands were likely soon to become themselves once again, for it must ever be remembered that they were once very bright jewels in the crown of England. The vessels that sailed from this country for the West Indies not only took out large quantities of goods for the planters, but they all came home laden with the products of those islands. It would scarcely be believed that the richest estates were furnished by the proprietors in England, but such was the case—all their beer, port wine, bacon, and such like articles were sent from this country. The time of the inhabitants was wholly given to the manufacture of certain great staples, as sugar, rum, coffee, chocolate, &c. In 1834, when the Emancipation Bill was passed and the negroes were set free, there was invested in Jamaica alone £111,000,000 sterling. The estates at that time were very magnificent. He had known the overseer of one estate to have in his house no less a sum than £800 in silver belonging to the proprietor. It was also no uncommon thing for as many as thirty servants to be kept in one house. As an instance of the size and costliness of the buildings in Jamaica, he would mention Rose House, Trelawny, the residence of Mr. Rose Price. In that building there were 365 windows looking on to the sea, and the whole of it, which was wood, was made of nothing less valuable than cedar, while the principal part of it was mahogany. As for their luxury, that was proverbial, but far beyond that was their hospitality. Nothing could give Englishmen an idea of it. After a stay of six months he went to the East Indies, but their hospitality was nothing compared to that of the West Indies. In the West Indies a man was hospitable from his nature. Even from the hut of the planter the same spirit of hospitality was met with. But now all this had passed away. And why? It was very easy for him to say, because he had passed through the ordeal. At one time the whole country was nothing but a beautiful garden. But the Bill for the abolition of slavery came, and prosperous colonies were immediately turned into a state of adversity. No labour was to be had. For months after the negroes became free, in August 1838, not one could be got to go into the coffee-fields. They said, and very justly, "What is the use of my being a free man and having to work." It was but a natural idea, and for some time no work of any kind was done. In consequence of the high rate of wages estate after estate was ruined. The Duke of Buckingham's

plantation, which used to yield 700,000 lbs. of sugar, came down to yield only 70,000 lbs. The white creole ultimately had to flee the country in order to better himself, and no labour of any kind was to be obtained. Such was the result of the emancipation of slavery in the West Indies. He was glad to find that a turn in the tide had recently taken place, and that there was every prospect of those islands becoming as prosperous as they had hitherto been. Under the new *régime* they were likely to be formidable rivals to the Australian colonies—colonies which had grown up giants, and which England might well be proud of, for so long as they remained integral portions of the empire, England was invincible. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) There surely could not be any jealousy between West Indian colonists and those from the Australias. It was to the common interest that all should be united, and each form a minute part of the Empire. If this was done, and each was bound together as a whole, they might bid the world defiance. (Hear, hear, and cheers.)

The Hon. Mr. TOWN said Mr. Walker's lecture to him had been as the light of other days. Forty-seven years ago he went to the West Indies, and he had not forgotten his visit nor the incidents connected with it even now. There was one point he wished to insist upon—namely, that there was no city more entitled to listen to any appeal from the West Indies than the City of London. He remembered the time when the principal merchants here were West India merchants, and when we were obliged to make the West India Docks to keep up a rivalry with those of the East Indies. The West Indies, as they all knew, had been in very great difficulties ; in fact, no country in the world had gone through a greater or more severe struggle. They had wealth untold ; they had the leading men of this country as Governors, and their Members of Parliament were men who were greatly influenced by those who had West Indian property ; but for all this they were only just now being brought out of a prolonged state of adversity. Mr. Wray had told them of estates which used to yield 700,000 lbs. of sugar being in such a position as not to yield more than 70,000 lbs. He (the speaker) knew of an estate which cost £50,000 which not many years ago was going as a drug in the market for £3,000. The proprietors had no means of furnishing labour of any kind, and their lands were left perfectly uncultivated. In conclusion, he thanked Mr. Walker for his paper, and remarked that there was no part of our dominions that deserved more of this country than the West Indies. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. H. W. FREELAND said if he were competent to speak on the

paper, and touch upon all the bearings of the question, he should feel that it would be desirable that one should be able to peruse it carefully before venturing to express any decided opinion upon the various topics it so ably embraced. He was anxious to put a question to Mr. Walker, and to make one suggestion. If his memory served him rightly, he thought Mr. Walker alluded to the great want of the West Indian Colonies as a want of labour, and that the best and most economical way of supplying that labour was the great difficulty under which they were suffering. Well, they all knew that probably of all famines a labour famine was one of the worst. But he understood Mr. Walker also to say that certain diplomatic difficulties had interposed to prevent that importation of Chinese labour which was so essential to the welfare of the West Indies. If such was the case, it was time for the mother country to interfere in the matter. Mr. Walker did not say what the difficulties were, but he (the speaker) would remind him that there were certain members of the House of Commons connected with the Colonial Institute, who would be most willing, if the difficulties were pointed out to them through the medium of this discussion or otherwise, to bring the matter before Parliament, and take other steps for their removal. (Hear, hear.) The suggestion he had to make was that the statistics on the chart before them, showing the progress of the West Indies, should be incorporated with the paper. He did not think that, except in drawing public attention to such matters as had been alluded to on the present occasion, the Colonial Institute could do very much. It could, no doubt, do a great deal in expressing those sympathies which they all felt towards the different members of our Empire; and he was glad to find a gentleman present state that they were not working in vain, even if they only endeavoured to extend the sympathetic ties which bound the mother country to her colonies. He was one of those who believed old times were returning, and he thought the Colonial Institute had performed no unimportant part in bringing about such a happy result. As regards the formation of a museum, spoken of by Mr. Wilson, he did not think much could be done in that matter by the Institute at present. It was not the first time the subject had been mentioned; the advantages of such a museum had frequently been discussed by the members since it was first brought to their notice by Mr. Hyde Clarke. No doubt it was a very good thing to do, but there were many things which were good to do, which they would like to see done, but which were not so easy to bring into practical action, or to put into practical form. (Hear, hear.) There was no doubt that such an exhibition would

teach them in what way the commercial ties—those which bound the Empire together more firmly than any others—could be increased, and he only hoped that the energies and practical experience of Mr. Wilson would be employed in giving development to the point he had so ably dwelt upon. He (the speaker) was sure they were all indebted to Mr. Walker for his paper. He had listened to it with great pleasure, and had gained from it a large amount of valuable information.

Mr. RICHARD RAMSDEN said there were one or two points in the paper he should like to speak upon. In the first place he wished to say that the one great disadvantage to coolie labour in Jamaica was that the planter could not depend upon the coolies. If they felt at all uncomfortable in their situation they immediately committed suicide. The next point was one which required some attention. He did not think that sufficient women were imported in proportion to the men ; the consequence was that quarrels were always taking place. It was very seldom that the coolies intermarried with the natives. As regards the cultivation of fruits, all he could say was that the fruit-trees in Jamaica were very fine. At present only a few were cultivated, but he thought this discussion would give a stimulus to "that beautiful industry," as Mr. Wilson was pleased to call it. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. G. R. Godson said he could speak with some experience of the West Indies, as an uncle of his was a large slave-holder and planter in one of the islands. The great difficulty they had to contend with was one of labour. It was an easy matter to find emigrants if the inhabitants would pay for them, but they would not. The Government would not advance any money for emigration purposes, and consequently labourers were scarce. With regard to the cultivation of fruit, that was an industry which would pay if proper persons, with some knowledge of the subject, could be obtained. He doubted, however, whether such individuals would care to work in a tropical climate.

Mr. J. A. TINNÉ said the Chinese coolie was about the best kind of labourer they had in British Guiana. He considered the great difficulty they had to contend with was the objection on the part of the Chinese Government to allow females to emigrate with the males. The Chinese were very much prejudiced in this matter. At one time it was tried to induce the Government of this country to remove the objections, but without any satisfactory results. If females could only be imported with the males the West India Colonies would be in a much better position than they were at the present time, but he doubted whether the prejudices of the Chinese

could be removed. As regards the exhibition of Colonial products in this country, spoken of by Mr. Wilson, it was not the fault of the West Indies if the British manufacturer was not made acquainted with the resources of those islands. West Indian products, and especially woods of various kinds, were exhibited largely in the last two International Exhibitions held in London. There was one article, however, which public attention should be drawn to—an article that was now very much used in commerce, namely gutta-percha. There were trees in several of the West India islands capable of producing no end of this commodity, and if only the attention of the British public could be drawn to that fact, another very profitable industry would be likely to be set on foot.

Colonel DOMVILLE believed the principal reason why the emigrants did not take females with them was because the coolies lived for the most part in a state of polygamy—each woman had about eight or ten husbands.

Mr. LEONARD WRAY said he was surprised to hear such a statement from one so intimately connected with both the East and West Indies. The masses of India lived in no such state. The real fact was that the coolie wished to go to the West Indies for a time to earn a little money, and then to return to his home and live with his wife in China. He did not think it would be possible to get the women to leave their homes and emigrate with their husbands: any way, they would want a good deal of persuasion.

Colonel DOMVILLE said his observations referred to the coolies of Ceylon.

Mr. EDWARD WALKER never could understand why the women did not emigrate with the men. Some years ago he happened to be in China and saw too vessels packed with coolies for Peru. On asking where the women were he was told it did not pay to get them. There was not a woman on board.

Mr. C. D. COLLET said it was clear now what the diplomatic difficulties were. They were such as prevented a free flow of emigration, and he was not surprised at their being placed in the way when he called to mind the manner in which the Chinese had been treated for the last twenty years by the English Government. He begged leave to remind the meeting that our late ambassador in China threw up his situation in disgust, simply because he did not like the treatment which the Chinese had received at the hands of English statesmen. Some time ago they wished to open up three coal mines, and although there was a convention which permitted that to be done, Lord Granville refused to ratify it, and

he did so on the recommendation of the Chinese merchants resident in London.

Mr. GEORGE CRAWSHAY said if any gentleman would take the trouble to read the blue-books on the subject, they would find that a system of kidnapping was very much complained of. He believed the solution of the labour difficulty was to be found in China—a country which had the most numerous population in the world—and if the coolie inhabitants could be induced to transplant themselves with their women to the British Colonies, the labour question would be at once and for ever solved. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. E. WILSON considered it was all very well to advocate the introduction of Chinese labour into British Colonies, but he would rather that those possessions were reserved for Europeans.

Mr. GEORGE CRAWSHAY reminded the last speaker that his observations referred to the West Indies, and to countries in which Europeans could not work.

The noble CHAIRMAN said he thought he might now congratulate Mr. Walker on the general approbation his paper had called forth. The subject was certainly one which must have some sort of interest to him from the fact, as Mr. Leonard Wray remarked, that his grandfather was for a long time Governor of one of the West India islands. All he hoped was that he had left favourable recollections behind him. With regard to the possibility of exhibiting Colonial productions in this country, that was a subject which had more than once been alluded to at their meetings, and he did not think Mr. Wilson could blame the Institute for any neglect in the matter. It was obvious that a building capable of holding the various products of our Colonies, which fortunately—and they might well be proud of the fact—covered almost every portion of the globe, must be a very extensive one. At present they had not sufficient funds to build such a museum, but it struck him while sitting in the chair that it would be a most legitimate use to make of a part of the South Kensington Museum. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Certainly they might make an attempt to get a portion of that building set apart for the exhibition of Colonial productions, and if they went to the Privy Council he had no doubt they would succeed. Such a museum would be very useful, and he thought the Government could hardly refuse to grant such a modest request. It now only remained for him to thank Mr. Walker for his very able and interesting paper, and to congratulate him on the universal approbation it had called forth. (Cheers.)

Mr. W. WALKER, in summing up the debate, said with regard to Mr. Freeland's question there was at one time a sort of Imperial

objection to Chinese leaving their country, but that had been overcome. Then followed the system of kidnapping the coolies, and since that practice was commenced the authorities felt disinclined to countenance Chinese emigration. As far as his own experience went, he knew the coolies to be always well cared for, and their voyage rendered as safe and comfortable as possible. A stop was put to all Chinese emigration in 1866, and since that date it was not permitted to be renewed. Our English minister, however, was in communication with the Chinese Government at the present time, and it was hoped that the coolie would soon be allowed to emigrate to the West India islands under the same condition as the Spanish labourer. There were several documents which he could not introduce into his paper for fear of making it too long, but which were of a very interesting character. He thanked the gentlemen present for the kind way in which he and his paper had been received. (Cheers.)

Sir RICHARD GRAVES MACDONNELL begged leave before the meeting broke up, to explain one or two matters on which some misapprehension existed, matters of considerable importance to West Indian interests, as being connected with the supply of Chinese coolie labour to those Colonies. Several of those present appeared to think that the main obstacle to such emigration from China was caused by diplomatic difficulties. Having been officially circumstanced during several years so as almost to be an eye-witness of the occurrences affecting that emigration, and having also had to correspond with H. M. Government at great length on the subject, he might say that the difficulty had rather been a planter's difficulty than one occasioned by any diplomatic arrangement. The Chinese Government naturally felt extremely pained by the atrocities committed in the conduct of emigration from Macao, and the sufferings of the coolies transported to Peru. There were excellent regulations on paper at Macao, but nevertheless it was notorious that coolies seized in piratical attacks on villages along the Chinese coast could be, and were for many years back passed through those regulations, and embarked for Havannah and Peru, where their sufferings were often most severe, and the breach of almost all promises made to them most shameful. The Chinese Government, therefore, had resolved some years ago not to allow any emigration from China except on adequate guarantee of a return passage to every emigrant at the end of five years. He believed the West India planters were willing to give the required guarantee, but only at the end of eight years, on the ground that a shorter period of hired labour by the coolie would not pay. The emigration,

therefore, from Canton had been brought to a close. H. M. Government had also stopped the emigration from Hong Kong for several reasons, but principally to avoid giving offence to the Chinese authorities. Many questioned the policy of that step, unless the emigration from Macao could be stopped also. There were no abuses of the emigration from Hong Kong—everything there connected with the government was well in hand at the time, and the closing of emigration from Hong Kong was, of course, a handing over to the iniquitous kidnappers at Macao of the control of the so-called emigration. It was as it were removing a police-station from the vicinity of criminals, and allowing to the latter complete freedom of action. He hoped, nevertheless, that a well-regulated system of emigration from China to the West Indies might soon be established, for although, possibly, we might get on well enough without Chinese in Australia, he nevertheless believed that no labour was so valuable in the West Indies as that which could be supplied by the Chinese—a race which combined the intelligence and strength of the European with the negro's power to resist climatic influences in tropical countries.

An Ordinary General Meeting of the Institute was held in the theatre of the Society of Arts on Tuesday, the 1st April, 1873, his Grace, the Duke of MANCHESTER, President, in the chair.

The following Papers, by HUGH MUNRO HULL, Esq., Clerk of the Parliament, Tasmania, on "Tasmania, and its Wealth in Timber," and J. E. CALDER, Esq., of Tasmania, on "The Forests of Tasmania," were read.

#### ON TASMANIA AND ITS WEALTH IN TIMBER.

Tasman discovered the island on November 24, and landed thereon on December 1, 1642, and it was visited by Captain Cook on March 10, 1778. The first British settlement was formed by Lieutenant Bowen, from Sydney, in 1803, and when the party was nearly starved to death, a permanent establishment was formed under Governor Collins in February, 1804. For many years the infant settlement suffered severely from the want of provisions; flour could only be obtained at £112 per ton in 1804. In 1808 the free settlers had to get rations from the king's stores, and to wear the prison clothing, and though there were a thousand souls then to maintain, there was no meat, or wheat, or maize, or barley, and for a portion of the year 1808 rice and kangaroo meat was the daily food of all classes. Notwithstanding these troubles the Colony still went on improving, and in 1810 the people from Norfolk Island were all removed to Tasmania, by which 1,100 more settlers were added to the number. In 1816 immigrants began to arrive from England. The Commissariat Department, under the writer's father, D. A. C. G. Hull, was established in Hobart Town; and still, though 7,000 black aboriginal inhabitants roved through the island, and escaped convicts or bushrangers were troublesome, the British pluck of the settlers kept them up, and the colony rapidly "went ahead." When the settlement was thirty-two years old, the neighbouring Colony of Victoria, then called Port Philip, was mainly aided in its successful settlement by farmers and sheep from us, for in two years there left us sheep to the value of £160,000, for the extensive pastures of the new country; and their owners found those pastures pay so well, that in seven years Tasmania had transferred more than half a million

in value of her sheep, and a large number of her most energetic farmers and young men to the plains of Victoria. In 1851 gold was largely discovered in Victoria, and 85,000 of the "bone and sinew" of Tasmania went over the straits to dig, and in very many instances to find and bring back gold. I know that in December, 1853, our banks held £1,840,000 of gold and bullion in their coffers, and this year, 1853, was the culminating point of our success as a Colony—our jubilee year, in fact. In that year the British Government ceased to transport their poachers, and machine-breakers, and chartists, and petty larcenists, as convicts to Tasmania, by which the labour-market was confined to the emigrant class; and, in consequence, a much larger amount was required to be expended in wages, so that the farmers and other employers of labour could not realise the same profit from their various industries as when they had cheap labour, even though that labour was, in a few instances, inferior. Yet the tone of the Colony has greatly improved since that time, large numbers of friendly societies have been formed, having temperance as one of their principal objects; churches have been built in numbers, schools and education greatly attended to, and, to sum up all in as few words as possible, it may be remarked that now, at Christmas-time, 1872, there are in the colony of Tasmania 18,000 heads of families, whose united property is valued at £11,000,000, with an annual valuation of £669,615. They possess 1,400,000 sheep, 101,000 head of cattle, 22,000 horses, 50,000 pigs, which together are valued at £1,470,000. They have 830,000 acres in cultivation, and exported last year home produce to the value of £790,000. They have £670,000 deposited in the banks, and £220,000 in the two savings banks. Their shipping and steamers are valued at £300,000. They have constructed a railway of forty-five miles long for £510,000, and have contracted to build another 111 miles long for £650,000, all showing a very healthy state of affairs; and the Colonists look to 1873, when they shall have been colonised three score years and ten, as a year of happiness and general prosperity. But now for the forests. Of the timber trees there are about thirty varieties, some of which grow to a size which is almost incredible to those who have not seen them. Three of the species of eucalypti grow to large proportions; in some instances to 300 feet high, with a girth of 102 feet. Of these timbers very large planks can be obtained, sometimes three and four feet wide to 140 feet in length, without a flaw. The specific gravity of the gum wood, as it is called, is greater than that of the oak, or the teak of India, and its weight per cubic foot much greater. Its strength is so great that a lath seven feet long

and two inches square will maintain a weight of 1,800 pounds. Of the blue gum tree there is one growing in a valley about five miles from Hobart Town, on Mr. Hull's estate of Tolosa, which is estimated to be 380 feet high, and has been measured by Sir W. Denison, K.C.B., and found to be seventy-six feet in circumference. At the Cam river on the north is a stringy bark tree, 200 feet to the first branch, and estimated to contain 225 tons of timber. In D'Entrecasteaux's Channel a "swamp gum" was cut down and split into palings, laths, and shingles for house purposes, and its produce was sold for £245. For many years there was a large export of sawn timber and split timbers of all sorts—in some years to the value of nearly £400,000. These are the larger and coarser timbers. Then there are the myrtle, blackwood, musk, dogwood, honeysuckle, pine, and sassafras, all of them cabinet woods of various colours and textures, and all producing the most beautifully-marked veneers for cabinet-makers' work. Of blackwood, large quantities are exported for furniture purposes to Victoria, where it is extensively used for billiard-tables and large furniture. The myrtle slabs of thirty or forty feet in length and three or four feet wide, of a bright salmon or pink colour, make very beautiful cabinet work. The roots of this tree are veined in a variety of figures. The musk, Huon pine, and honeysuckle make handsome picture-frames, and all take an excellent polish. These ornamental woods excited great notice at the various exhibitions in England, of 1851 and 1862, and in France. The ship timbers produced by the gum-trees, such as "knees" and other tough parts required in ship-building, have been found to be durable, and not susceptible to dry rot. Well-authenticated instances of great durability in old piles and posts are of every-day occurrence; and scaffolding poles of great length have been in use for twenty years and more by builders in the city, and they are as firm and tough as when first used. The mode adopted by the small settlers for clearing the richest forest lands is somewhat as follows:—Say that there are from seventy to eighty trees to the acre, some of them of enormous size; some of these are cut down, and in their fall they break down many others, the thick foliage soon dries, and being full of gaseous matter (10,000 cubic feet of gas to the ton), a fire-stick being applied to it, a grand and extensive blaze is the result; the branches are consumed in a few hours, but the trunks continue burning for some days, till a mass of ashes is all that remains. In these ashes, after the first rainfall, the settler plants potatoes, or sows his grain; and the crop produced is frequently enormous. Instances of fifteen tons of potatoes, or one hundred bushels of oats from one acre are not

few ; while the green crops tower high above the head of the man who cuts them for his cattle ; and it is in these ashes that turnips of sixty or seventy pounds weight are produced. Then, where are these forests and this fine timber to be found ? In the north, in the south, and in the west of Tasmania. First, South.—Near the Huon River, for mile upon mile, he who visits that part of the country can see nothing but forests in every direction ; a grand river the Huon, ever flowing ; navigable for forty miles from the sea ; mountain streams of great purity and force for mill or irrigating purposes ; and everything but roads and population available for producing wealth. The township of Hull has its few settlers, who are growing hops in its rich valleys, and opening up the country of Sheoak Hills for cultivation. Next, North.—All along the north-east coast, in the counties of Devon, Wellington, and Dorset, are myrtle forests, and blackwood, stringy bark, &c., in great beauty and of enormous size. Every four or five miles rivers run into the sea from the hills and valleys where these grand timbers grow, and from the ports of which large exports are made to Victoria, New Zealand, South Australia, Queensland, and Sydney ; giving employment to steam saw-mills, to lumberers in numbers ; and to a fleet of small vessels in the trade ; and here also are gold and iron found. Then, West.—The whole of the western coast of Tasmania may be said to be one vast forest, virgin to the hand of man for miles upon miles. Here and there, such as in Port Davey (a large harbour), and Macquarie Harbour (a very extensive inlet), sawyers and timber-men have made their stations, and bring to market huge logs of Huon pine, myrtle, and blackwood.

As civilisation and population extend westward these forests will gradually disappear by fire, and in place of huge trees we shall have cultivated farms and sheep runs ; but this may not be for years.

Beneath these forest trees, limestone, marble, granite, coal, gold bearing quartz, and other minerals are found.

In the centre of the island there are few forests of good timber, though in many parts trees grow to a large size ; and here and there much too thickly to allow of cultivation ; but they disappear as man comes with his axe and firestick.

In those parts of the Colony which have been cultivated for many years, the timber trees are not as a rule abundant. The vast plains of the interior are thinly clad with *Mimosas*, or white gum trees, or *she oak*, &c. The white gum produces, by the aid of a small black and white insect, the manna of the Colony, a white

sweet product, the sun-dried juice of the young leaves of the *Eucalyptus*. The *Mimosas* produce a sweet edible gum which once afforded food to the Aborigines.

The flowers of the *Eucalypti* are full of honey; and bees of English extraction feed eagerly on them, and fill the hives to overflowing with a rich luscious honey—the *Mimosa* flowers, too, are highly scented, and are distilled into an essence of some value. Some of the shrubs are highly aromatic and of various scents, some perfectly disagreeable, others equal to rose oil or lavender.

The smaller flowers of the forest are in number legion, but their colour is mostly bright yellow or its constituents, and they are sadly devoid of fragrance. The *Warratah* of the mountains is a rich red flower coming out about our hot Christmastide, and is kept in countenance by the pearly white of the grass tree flower, whose beauty is its only recommendation; for it grows in almost impenetrable forests, and has a disagreeable scent.

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#### ON THE FORESTS OF TASMANIA.

By J. ERSKINE CALDER, Esq.

Tasmania is, in the strictest sense, a hill-country, and has an area of about 26,000 square miles. Its mountain systems are not to be easily described; and in the absence of a contour survey, cannot be readily understood; for no verbal description of them, however lucid, could be sufficiently exact for this purpose, there being so many detached (or at least seemingly detached) masses from the great central meridional chain, whose connection with it cannot be verbally explained, and which must go undescribed. The principal of the older rocks, from which the soils of Tasmania have been derived, are the quartzose, the granitic and basaltic. Of these three classes, the last-named is spread over the largest area; and I believe that I do not over-estimate its extent in setting it down at 12,000 or more square miles. For the purpose of man it is on all accounts the most important, and the settlements of the Colony lie almost exclusively on it. It is therefore the best known of all. Here it is that the largest and most useful of our forests flourish, and where the best of our agricultural soils are met with. Here also it is that the true grasses abound that constitute this region the great pasture-field of the Colony. After emerging from the ocean at the South Cape, it passes right across the country to Bass's Straits on the north; rapidly—indeed, almost suddenly—

attaining to a very considerable altitude ; and for about 130 miles its spinal portion, if I may use this term, is seldom so little as 8,000 feet high, its principal peaks being about 4,500 or 5,000 feet ; and one of them, the Mount Humboldt of de Strezelecki (which I take to be the " Field West " of our maps), is said by him to reach to 5,600 feet. At about 130 miles from the South Cape this elevated land suddenly sinks about a couple or three thousand feet ; this is at Dry's and the extreme western bluffs, &c., the basaltic lands below these eminences still extending in a wide but generally northerly course, to the shores of Bass's Straits. Besides occupying, as above described, the entire of the Central Districts from North to South, the basalt spreads through all the South Eastern Districts, and penetrates into the North Western. The southern portions of this great meridional chain, for fully eighty miles from the South Cape, is wonderfully broken, and the entire country between its eastern slope and the east coast line is also undulatory, but hilly only. These south-eastern districts are all wooded, or very nearly so, but with the description of forests that we call " open forest "—namely, such as have but little underwood (generally none), where the trees do not stand very closely together, and which are also more or less grassy. The trees hereabouts, though mostly large, are not of extraordinary size. Very few treeless spots (called in the parlance of the country " plains ") are met with here, and such as are to be found are mostly small, seldom exceeding a few hundreds of acres. Along the western frontiers of the basalt—that is, where this rock meets or faces the quartz lands of the south-west—the great central chain is highly precipitous ; but here it ends (in this direction at least), and its resulting soils that have been carried downwards soon disappear from the surface also ; and this disappearance is visibly and very sharply defined by the forests suddenly ending, for vast portions of the districts just beyond are quite unwooded, the quartz soils seemingly being unfavourable to forest growth ; or it may be that the absence of trees so observable here is traceable to the marshiness of the surface, where even the steepest of the hill-sides are always wet, as these eminences, many of which are immense, retain moisture just like a sponge. The quartz districts support only a few belts of forest, or isolated patches of trees.

Reverting to the great central chain, the Southern portions, which are so very irregular, become more even where it crosses the latitude of about  $42^{\circ} 25' S.$ ; and as we go northerly, we find that it assumes the form of a wide grassy plateau, and though still an undulating tract, it is far less rugged than in the south. Plains or

treeless spaces are also frequent, and some of them are of considerable extent, say from 500 to 20,000 acres; and where it is woody, the trees stand pretty far apart, and are not scrubby underneath. Large flocks of sheep are depastured here during seven months of the year, but are withdrawn to the lower pastures as the winter approaches, which begins in these elevated quarters about the close of April.

It is on this grassy plateau that the chief affluents of the principal of Tasmanian rivers, namely the Derwent, have their sources in several beautiful lakes that cover unitedly about 75,000 acres, of which the overflow of more than six-sevenths reaches the Derwent.

But it must not be thought from this necessarily cursory glance at the principal of the rock formations of the country, namely, the quartz, granite, and basalt, that the secondary or tertiary ones are absent, such as the lime, clay, and sandstones; but the first-named ones are those that have disturbed and broken through the surface "piercing in their upheaval," says an eloquent writer of the past, "the more recent formations, and leaving around their bases, the various strata of sandstones and fossiliferous rock" that still overlay large areas. Hence it is that I have spoken only of the older rocks of the country.

Before closing this part of the subject, I must remark that it is in the North-western districts that the granite rocks prevail, and extend inland for many miles and along part of the northern shore also. Their soils are not much superior to those of the quartz districts, and the trees they support are not numerous.

Though forests are to be found both in the lands where quartz and granite rocks predominate, it is on the slopes, the inferior but often very elevated ridges, and in the ravines of the basaltic range, so often mentioned above, where the more wonderful of our woodlands are to be seen. Here, up to the altitude of perhaps 8,000 feet, it is that the forest trees attain a height and bulk of barrel not easily to be credited by those who have not passed through these places. The trees of these "heavily wooded lands," as we term them, often stand closely together, but more usually 30 or 40 feet apart; and as in all closely-planted woods they run greatly to barrel, and may be properly described as all barrel-and-top, no ladder that ever was made would reach half up to the lowest branches of any of them. But as it so happens that the soils which support them support also a most vigorous growth of underwood, that is composed of an endless enumeration of plants varying from a few inches to 80 to 100 feet high, matted

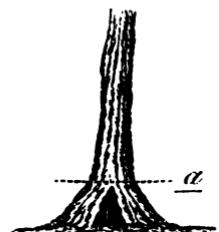
and almost woven together into one compact mass, it is most difficult to measure the standing trees with the theodolite, &c., or the fallen ones either, which latter are always so covered up with living vegetation, other fallen trees and broken branches, and whole waggonloads of rubbish, which cannot be described, nor understood if it were, that it is most troublesome to get fairly at them to ascertain either their length or girth. But when felled by our splitters (manufacturers of palings, laths, &c.) and cleared of these encumbrances, they are sometimes measured. The longest one that I have taped was 278 feet from the part where its roots commenced to the end, and 160 to its first branch. There were others, either growing or dead, even larger, that I could not get at, which were certainly over 300 feet long.\*

Such trees as these, though not very rare, are much above the size of the general run of those growing on our heavily wooded lands; but such as are 150 feet or thereabouts, are much more common.

The true girth of trees like these, is very seldom fairly taken. Not being tap-rooted, nature has compensated this want by furnishing them with enormous butts, as well as very large horizontal roots; and at the height that can be conveniently reached, say six or seven feet from the ground, the girth is twice or thrice that of the true barrel, and at about this height it always is that the girth is taken. Hence we so often hear of trees being 50, 60, 80, and even 100 feet round the barrel, when it is really only the butt that has been measured. This, of course, is not a fair method of taking the circumference, for where the barrel begins

to run clear, as at  $\alpha$  of the little marginal sketch (which is not at all exaggerated), 20, 25, or 30 feet, would be closer to the truth. A barrel thus fairly measured, is seldom more than 8 or 10 feet in diameter at  $\alpha$ , and 4 or 5 feet at its first branch (say 100 or 120 feet up from the ground); and trees that are 8 or 10 feet through, just above the line where they begin to run clear of the butt-swelling, must be taken to be very large trees, even here; and though I suppose that there cannot be less than 80,000,000 or 40,000,000 of trees of vast proportions in the heavily-wooded lands of Tasmania, I do not believe that one in a thousand of them is 8 feet through above

\* The tallest tree that I have heard of, that was really taped, was 350 feet from root upwards.



the butt. I know that in some parts, particularly in what are called the Huon districts, the proportion of very large trees is more than in many other quarters, but not so if estimated on the entire extent of these lands, which, from much observation, I believe cover fully 4,000,000 acres. Taking the general run of these large trees, they are more usually 5 or 6 feet through at the bottom of the true barrel than anything greater, and perhaps half of this thickness at the first branch. In the language of the bush, their stems are as straight as a gun-barrel, and their butts unsound and mostly hollow.

The point or line *a* of the marginal sketch above, is usually 10 or 12 feet above the ground. In felling them for use therefore, a rough scaffold is built up to *a*, on which the men stand to work, generally three or perhaps four, one or two using felling-axes, cutting an immense notch or "calf" on one side, and others handling the cross-cut saw opposite to them.

There is a feeling in the mind of a stranger, something akin to awe and wonder, at seeing for the first time, one of these grand old trees topple over when the wedges are driven into the saw-cut. At first it moves very slowly from the perpendicular, but with a progressive increase of speed as it falls over. Everything that grows beneath it, that is less than 50 or 60 feet high, goes down before it, either smashed to atoms, or split into match-wood as the workmen have it. Just before the fall the workmen leave the scaffold, which is demolished like everything else, and take post near the butt, where they are very safe from danger; but even here (though very rarely), fatal accidents have happened; but the men know so well how to act at this moment, that they are scarcely ever hurt. I think I need not say anything about the noise that such a tree makes when it strikes the earth, which will be readily understood.

The principal trees of these forests, and, indeed, of all Tasmania, are eucalypti or gum trees, which derive their popular name from the quantities of gum that exude from them if a little diseased. This gum is of a brilliant red colour, sometimes nearly as bright as carmine. A diseased spot often yields half a pint or more when cut into; indeed, the soundest of them will yield some, if wounded with the axe, but only slowly. But it streams out of a diseased place directly the axe enters it. Its consistency is much the same as that of treacle, but it quickly dries and hardens. Its taste is obnoxious. The cajeput oil of commerce may be had in any quantities by distillation from all the eucalypti. This oil resides in the leaves, which are strong smelling.

But the leaves are never utilised, but left to rot. When dry or half dry they will burn most furiously, and with a bright whitish flame. The eucalypti of our heavy forests are mostly of two kinds, the blue and swamp gums,\* or, as the last-named is called in the northern districts, the string gum. The stringy-bark and peppermint, both of which are of the eucalyptus family, are found plentifully in some parts of the heavily-wooded lands. The lesser trees of these woods, which constitute what we call scrub, are quite as astonishing on account of their immense profusion, variety, and beauty, as the larger kinds are from their magnificent growth. The flowers of many of them, often scentless, are very handsome and delicate. So closely are all the spaces between the larger trees filled with them, and so greatly are they interlaced and even tied together by creeping plants, that to make headway through them is a work of real labour. They are moreover so mixed with fallen trees and their branch-wood, that one's progress through them is hardly preceptible.

Notwithstanding this labour, a good bushman who happens to have a taste for the beautiful will never begrudge a day or two of toil to see these glorious forests. The larger trees with their long straight barrels are indeed not cheerful objects to look at; but not so the lesser shrubs, which with hardly an exception, are most pleasing; often presenting, in their beautiful combinations, scenes that it is impossible to view without satisfaction. The foliage of such as the musk, sassafras, straight or silver wattle, (*Mimosa*), myrtle tree, palm (*Richea pandanifoli*), fern-trees, in countless thousands, with a vast variety of lesser ferns and plants, is brilliant in a high degree; and often, when under the depressing influence of fatigue, have I felt something more than a momentary relief in the agreeable, but very circumscribed, scenery of our remarkable forest lands.

The soils in which a large proportion of these colossal woods flourish is very excellent; but this is by no means always the case, especially in the southern hemisphere of the island. The constituents of the basalt from which they are chiefly derived, though uniform, vary greatly in their proportions in different quarters; nor are the sandstones and clay slates absent, whose decomposition further impurifies the basaltic earths. Hence, there is not so much uniformity as might be expected in the lands that are derived from their disintegration; and it is not unusual to find

\* We have a knack in Tasmania of giving inappropriate names to many things; and why we call this tree the swamp gum, which scarcely ever grows on swamp land, I must leave others to explain.

these forests flourishing on inferior clay lands, quite as healthily as in the very best of soils. For a long time this was quite inexplicable to me, and even now, after many years' observation, I own I am a good deal puzzled to account for it. Taking for example some of the lands that are drained by the Huon river and its affluents, we find in some of its upper districts, thousands and tens of thousands of acres that are not worth sixpence ; and yet all their forests are of the grandest, but most impervious kind, consisting of trees that are absolutely gigantic, and an underwood so compact and bewildering, as is not to be rashly entered. This profusion of vegetation growing on inferior soils is very difficult to explain satisfactorily ; and which I will only attempt by supposing it may be due to the united influences of the unusually large rain-fall of this quarter, and excessive geniality of climate.

That plants of all kinds derive much of their nourishment directly from the atmosphere, is now universally agreed on ; and those localities that enjoy abundance of moisture, and the nearly constant warmth of a climate that is not only delicious, but the temperature of which is so strangely equable, whose variation—on the lower lands at least—has no extremes, the two chief elements of vegetable development—warmth and moisture—are ever present. That the same elements are also present in the nearly treeless districts of the quartz lands, about the head waters of the Huon river, is quite true. But then these lands are mere morasses ; and in their undrained state are unfavourable for the production of anything but half aquatic bog-plants. Chemical analyses of the soils that support these awe-inspiring forests, may possibly detect virtues in them, that ordinary judgment disallows ; but to others as well as myself, they have always appeared to be most inferior and unpromising of settlement. Nor do the soils of the basin of the Huon much improve, until after its chief tributary the Pierton, is passed, some miles south of which good lands are met with, though not everywhere, and homesteads are frequent.

It is to be observed of these poor forest lands generally, that the handsome myrtle-tree is very commonly found amongst them, hence they are often called *myrtle forests* ; though this term would better suit such as grow about Macquarie Harbour, amongst which the Eucalypti are not numerous.

The useful Huon pine tree is found on the banks of some of the chief rivers of these poor but densely timbered tracts ; but I have seldom seen it growing fifty yards from running water. I believe it is confined to the country between the Huon and Pieman's rivers (north-west coast).

Of what we call *open forest lands* (that is, where the trees are neither of prodigious bulk nor very closely planted, and where scrub is absent), it is not necessary to say much, as they present us with little that is either remarkable or very beautiful. The nearly ever-present gum trees predominate here, of course, to which the other trees bear little proportion either in their size or numbers. The Black Wattle, so much in demand for its bark for tanning, the lightwood or blackwood, and the cherry-tree, are all handsome, but except the Wattle, they are not very numerous. The she-oak (*casuarina*), the gloomiest looking of Tasmanian trees, is abundant in certain soils; but the honeysuckle and some others are only *rather* plentiful.

Most species of the gum-tree, of which there are several, are not handsome, that is as they are planted by nature; and in proportion to their size, are not such great leaf bearers as one would expect. As said before, they run all to top and barrel. But where we chance to find one or a clump of them standing alone, say in the midst of a plain, or where they have been planted artificially in open ground, their foliage is then immense; and I do not remember any English tree that has more. It is then a beautiful object; but as trained by nature, it is neither handsome nor shade-giving. But there are two of the lesser sorts that are often attractive, even as they are found in the bush, namely, the Pendulous gum-tree of the midland districts, with all its lesser boughs shining just as though they were highly varnished, and the cider-tree (*Eucalyptus Gunnii*) of the lake districts, which is a hardy umbrageous tree, that is not often found at a lower altitude than 3,000 feet.

All of the gums shed both bark and leaves; and there is a constant descent of them throughout the entire year.

Every tree of Tasmania, from the diminutive plant of three inches high up to the gigantic gum-tree of 800 feet, is evergreen. Certain districts of Tasmania, like those of other countries, produce trees that are found nowhere else. Thus the Swanport pine is not seen away from the districts bordering on the east coast, having a range of 1,000 to 1,200 square miles. The Huon pine grows nowhere out of some districts of the south and western parts of the island. The Forth river pine is also a very local tree. The cherry-tree, again, is not found on the west side of the great central dividing range, or, if so, extremely rarely, and the she-oak is also wanting there. The pendulous gum is confined to the midland districts, and so on with some others. The same thing is observed of different altitudes. Thus we should never think

of looking for the beautiful flowers of the Warratah on any of the lower slopes of our mountains, from which, except by the merest accident, it never departs. Much the same may be said of that species of *Richea* whose flowers are so frequently brought into Hobart Town from the high ridges of Mount Wellington, and of many other plants. The black wattle is never met with on very high lands, nor the cider-tree on low ones. This rule of local distribution applies also to some of our birds and animals, and even to some of the reptiles. Thus no one ever saw the forest kangaroo (*Macropus Major*) in the western or south-western districts, and there is another kind that is not met with out of the midland ones. Amongst birds, the Roselle parrot, musical magpie, and several more never cross to the westward of the great central range, but avoid altogether the quartzose lands, and, indeed, an immense extent of the basaltic also, having no liking either for high lands, or such as are densely wooded. Of reptiles I may say that in all my wanderings through the West I never once saw the diamond snake, or the green tree-frog, which, by the way, is very local.

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#### DISCUSSION.

Mr. H. E. MONTGOMERIE said one of the objects of the Institution was to lay before the British public information bearing on our Colonies. No better way could be devised than obtaining information from the Colonists themselves. They had had papers read by Canadian and Cape Colonists, but this was the first occasion on which they had papers from Australian Colonists. He believed there was no better means of communicating between Colonists abroad and the British public at home, and in this way, among others, enabling their fellow-subjects to know the valuable resources these Colonies possessed. He wished, however, that the papers had been accompanied by specimens of the different woods mentioned therein, if only on a small scale. He suggested that some such specimens of the valuable woods of Tasmania be transmitted and placed in the museum of the Institute, for the information of all.

Mr. EDDY stated that Kew had a fine collection of specimens of the woods mentioned in the papers, and that if the time had admitted, Dr. Hooker would, without doubt, have lent some of these to illustrate the papers, for he had shown the most obliging disposition to the Institute, and had offered it all the assistance in his power.

Mr. LABILLIÈRE said there was one thing in one of the papers which he did not like to hear, that was the wholesale destruction of valuable timber. It was said in England that there was extravagance with respect to coal, and in Australia he feared they were too extravagant with respect to wood. Any one who had travelled through the bush in Australia must be aware to how great an extent timber was destroyed. He believed the Government of Victoria had taken steps to preserve forests which would hereafter be valuable to the Colonists. He thought forest lands should not be sold unless there was a very decided demand for the purpose of cultivation. In Canada most of the land was covered with timber, and it was necessary to clear it for agricultural purposes. In Australia that was not the case; some of the best lands were very lightly timbered, and required very little clearing. When he left Victoria, he could not see for miles and miles a young tree, owing to the way in which forest conservation was neglected. Timber was rapidly disappearing; through a succession of bush fires, occasioned by the improvement of pasturage, the trees were gradually killed and no new ones replaced them. With respect to Australia, he believed that the gum-tree was well adapted for introduction into Southern Europe. When he was at Nice in the winter of 1859-60, there was not one to be seen; but five years later there was scarcely a valley without gum-trees of considerable size. These might be valuable, not only for the purpose of building, but also as firewood in Southern Europe. In twenty or thirty years sufficient would be grown to be of some value for the purposes of timber. Certainly, there would be a considerable use for the purposes of firewood. He had no doubt that were the gum-tree cultivated on the hill-side of Italy and the South of France, it would be found very valuable. In Australia it seemed that the gum-tree might be used for ship-building. He had seen a ship built of gum-wood in Melbourne.

Mr. YOUNG believed that the members of the Institute would expect a few words from him. After acknowledging Mr. Eddy's services in so well illustrating the papers by reference to the map before them, he regretted that want of time for preparation had prevented him from producing views of settlers' houses, &c., and thus illustrating Colonial life in Tasmania. With regard to forests, Dr. Milligan would give some of his experience. No person knew the Colony better; he had rooted up so many thousands of trees throughout the island. In 1861 he, the speaker, went through the country and saw many acres that had been cleared and cultivated under Dr. Milligan. As to Mr. Labillière's apprehension of the

destruction of those forests, you could not destroy them. Unless, indeed, you kept working away at these forests they would turn you out altogether. It was not so much, however, the large wood that obstructed travelling as the scrub. He instanced a case in which it took fourteen hours to proceed three miles. In fact, people had to chop their way on. Many persons had been lost in trying to get through these forests. The wood there was no doubt exceedingly valuable for ships ; it ranked next to teak. It had been known to last years without decay of any kind. For external work Huon pine was almost indestructible ; no insects lived in any article made of Huon pine. These forests, too, had their medicinal value. He had had many of the barks taken home and analysed. As to flowers, they bloomed so profusely and were so sweet-scented that even the famous Mr. Rimmel had been very anxious to get some of the flowers in this country, in order to get perfumes thence. Touching the form of the island, with its high tableland, he showed how easy irrigation would be. With such immense water resources, the country could be made one of the most beautiful in the world. Wherever irrigation had been applied, there had been splendid results. You could grow here almost anything in the world. With regard to the impenetrable part, Macquarie Harbour was a penal settlement, and many convicts had escaped, but they had to eat their companions in the vain attempt to penetrate these forests and reach the other side. There was a reserve of timber that would last for ages. The whole country was full of the finest timber you could conceive. There were traces of gold, too, while coal and iron were also found.

Dr. MILLIGAN was unprepared to speak. He had left Tasmania some time, but it seemed to him like a pleasant dream to revert to it. The climate was beautiful, the general scenery splendid, and everywhere charming to the eye. The papers just read had touched on almost everything. One took the geological features of the island ; the other went more into timber. With respect to the climate, it was one of the finest in the world. He preferred Tasmania to any country he had been in, not excepting Madeira. As to the scenery, that on the west was most grand and picturesque. The centre consisted of a huge plateau of greenstone, limestone, and sandstone, and belonged to the carboniferous age. These sandstones were connected with coal. At Tasman's Peninsula there was workable coal, and again still further south. There was a very good seam just round South Cape. At the foot of the Greenstone Hills, splendid specimens of anthracite had been found. Still more north, at Fingall, there was coal eleven feet thick.

Some timber had fallen, and catching fire, burned some way into the seam. This might prove a good coal if fairly tried. A seam had been, he believed, reserved by the Government for some company in England, who proposed working it. There was coal again on Ben Lomond. The coal on the east side was, he believed, identical with that of New South Wales. There was also a great abundance of iron. There was slate, too; schist predominated; and there were indications of gold. Whatever its present condition, Tasmania had a splendid future, possessing as it did all those elements which had made England great. Coming to another point, he was struck in Mr. Hull's paper with the enormous yield of oats and other crops therein mentioned. He thought there was a little exaggeration; there might be harm in this. No practical agriculturist could accept it as wholly correct. It is true that such crops of oats had been got on low flats near the river side; but such crops were first ones, and could not be looked for as a rule. Persons emigrating might calculate on such crops; it was better to avoid approach to exaggeration. (The HON. SECRETARY here remarked that the papers only mentioned these heavy crops as being grown in the ashes of burnt timber.) With respect to timber, as a commodity in the market, Tasmanian timber was valuable for export. As to the destruction of forests, generation after generation would feel themselves secure. In the dark, dense forests which covered the western side you could not even make a bush fire; you must set fire to each particular tree; fire would not run unless in an unusually dry season. The edges would burn, and, when they did so, produced one of the most wonderful scenes that could be imagined. There would be one sea of fire rising without an interval, and rolling on with the roar of the loudest thunder. The export of this timber was large. There was a great export to Melbourne, Geelong, and some other places; at the time of the gold diggings, when there was no house-room, the demand for timber was very great. He remembered a man who realised £150 in shingles, which he sold at a pound a thousand. Such wages, however, did not always improve even the social condition of the labourer, and in this instance all the money was spent in a week, and the man was then ready for a new engagement. He had seen one tree rise like a splendid column to 200 feet, where it had been broken across, leaving one limb like an arm standing out. This was the finest tree he had ever seen. No doubt the destruction of trees would have an effect on the climate, and make it much drier; the loss of the forests would be injurious. The land was suitable for all ordinary crops. He had even seen an india-

rubber tree forty feet high against a wall in the open air. Lemon and orange trees, too, came to perfection in the open air. Grapes had thriven, and where they did not succeed it was from people not understanding their proper treatment. The most valuable timbers were some species of gum; the blue-gum was best for ship-building. The stringy bark answered for house-building and all out-door work, such as bridges, &c. For ordinary work there was black wood, some species of acacia and the Huon pine. That was a very beautiful wood; he had seen a room finished entirely with it. There might be a little too much sameness. In this case the window-shutters even were of Huon pine, and the owner, proud of his work, showed the room with them closed. The effect was fine, the wood being diaphanous. The Huon pine was the most lasting wood known. It had been marked out as a wood possessing permanency. The speaker then alluded to a journey he had made in the island with the late Sir John Franklin, and reverting to timber, spoke of the myrtle as a tree well adapted for carriage panels; in the Exhibitions of 1851 and 1862 this wood obtained prizes as a furniture timber. The great cost, however, of transportation would long prevent any large exportation to this side. The demand, too, in the neighbouring colonies for fine furniture woods had increased. Regarding the possibility of a trunk railway across Australia, he remembered a dozen years ago discussing the matter with some merchants, who were quite agreed as to the practicability of the project, but thought the time had not yet come. He then alluded to the advance of telegraphy in Australia as an evidence that Melbourne had learned the right way to employ its wealth. He thought that the Trunk Line could be constructed on the principle of the great American lines, by giving liberal land grants to the parties undertaking it. There would also be doubtless guarantees. Alluding to Flinders Island as the place where the aborigines had retired, he stated that through that island the gold rocks continued. In answer to a question, he did not know whether the Huon pine was proof against white ants. He had, however, known cases where Huon pine, after lying fallen among mosses and other rank vegetation, had been cut and passed off as newly-felled timber. The timber was perfectly sound. A want of population alone prevented an extension and utilisation of the natural resources of these forests.

Mr. EDDY dwelt on the enormous number and size of the trees in Tasmania. From a deficiency of population, timber was growing faster than they could cut it down. There would be an ample supply of charcoal for smelting the valuable haematite iron ore

which was found in abundance on the north of the island, and thus producing the best possible charcoal iron.

The CHAIRMAN said they had now only to convey the best thanks of the meeting to the authors of these interesting papers. With regard to Mr. Labilli  re's statement about the destruction of forests, he believed that in New Zealand, at least, the Government was fully aware of the value of the timber, and disposed of land on rules framed with a view to its preservation. In fixing the price of land, he believed the value of the timber growing thereon was considered. Dr. Milligan alluded to the splendid sights he had seen in bush fires. On two occasions, he (the chairman) had seen similar sights. One was a fire on Table Mountain, and the other, a more distressing one, the fires after Sedan. He thought that some small specimens of Tasmanian woods should be included in their museum, where they might prove useful.

The thanks of the meeting were then voted to the authors, and the proceedings terminated.

AN ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING OF THE INSTITUTE WAS HELD AT THE ROOMS OF THE INSTITUTE ON TUESDAY, 6TH MAY, 1878, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER, PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

THE PAPER FOR THE EVENING WAS BY MR. H. E. WATTS—

ON THE THREE NEW RULES OF THE WASHINGTON TREATY AS AFFECTING OUR RELATIONS WITH OUR COLONIES.

MR. H. E. WATTS, WHO WAS RECEIVED WITH LOUD AND PROLONGED CHEERS, SAID: SOME APOLOGY, PERHAPS, MAY BE REQUIRED OF ME FOR OPENING ONCE MORE THE WELL-WORN CONTROVERSY AS TO THE TREATY OF WASHINGTON, AND WHAT HAS FLOWED FROM THAT REMARKABLE PASSAGE IN MODERN DIPLOMACY. IT MAY BE URGED THAT THE QUESTION HAS BEEN EXHAUSTED, THAT THE SUBJECT, NEVER A PLEASANT ONE, HAS BEEN DRAINED OF ALL INTEREST BY THE DISCUSSIONS IN THE PRESS AND IN THE PARLIAMENT—THAT HAVING ACCEPTED THE AWARD, WE OUGHT TO PAY OUR MONEY WITHOUT GRUMBLING, AND THAT IT IS A KIND OF BAD MANNERS TO QUARREL WITH THE PROCESS BECAUSE THE DECISION HAS BEEN AGAINST US. WE HAVE BEEN BIDDEN TO TAKE COMFORT IN THE VENERABLE ADAGE WHICH ENJOINS THE FUTILITY OF “CRYING OVER SPILT MILK;” AND WE HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT THERE IS SOMETHING UNMANLY AND UNWORTHY OF OUR NATIONAL CHARACTER IN KEEPING ALIVE THE MEMORY OF A WRONG, EVEN IF IT IS A WRONG, WHICH WE HAVE SUFFERED AT THE HANDS OF THE GENEVA TRIBUNAL. WE HAVE HAD A FURTHER CONSOLATION TENDERED TO US UPON HIGH OFFICIAL AUTHORITY IN THE SHAPE OF THE EXTRAORDINARY STATEMENT THAT WE ARE GOING TO PAY THE SIXTEEN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN ORDER TO AVOID “A BLOODY WAR,” WHICH IS A VIEW OF THE CASE NOT VERY FLATTERING TO OUR AMERICAN COUSINS, AND HARDLY I THINK CALCULATED TO INSPIRE US WITH CONFIDENCE EITHER IN THE EFFICACY OR THE ECONOMY OF THE NEW MODE OF SETTLING INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES. IT IS NOT MY PURPOSE THIS EVENING, NOR WOULD IT BE BECOMING TO THIS PLACE OR THIS AUDIENCE, TO ENTER UPON ANY OF THE PURELY POLITICAL ASPECTS OF THIS QUESTION. IT IS NOT A PART OF MY TASK TO INQUIRE WHETHER ENGLAND OUGHT OR OUGHT NOT TO HAVE CONSENTED TO SETTLE THE ALABAMA DIFFICULTY BY ARBITRATION, OR WHETHER, ARBITRATION BEING ADMITTED TO BE THE ONLY JUST AND PEACEFUL MODE OF SOLUTION, THE PARTICULAR FORM OF ARBITRATION WHICH WE ADOPTED WAS THE ONE BEST CALCULATED TO EFFECT OUR

object, to close our quarrel with America, to maintain the cause of peace and justice, and, in the words of our Prime Minister uttered after the Treaty had been signed, but before the Award had been given, to "lay the foundation of future advantage in the administration and action of International Law."

All these points of the case have been sufficiently well discussed already, and it is not my intention to reopen the general question. What has not been so well considered—what, indeed, has scarcely attracted any attention in this country—is the bearing of the Washington Treaty and of its consequences upon the relations between Great Britain and her Colonies—a question very materially affecting, as I think I shall be able to prove, the integrity of the Empire in the future. The Colonies, I need not remind you, have had a great deal to do with the troubles and negotiations connected with the escape and cruise of the "*Alabama*"—that

—“fatal and perfidious bark,  
Built in th' eclipse, and rigged with curses dark.”

It is not that they were primarily responsible for any of that trouble to the mother-country, that it was in consequence of possessing Colonies that England fell into this difficulty, that the Colonies had any share in creating that bitterness of feeling which has cost England so dear, that they were consulted in any way whatsoever as to the policy pursued by England, or that they overstepped in any appreciable degree the strict and honourable path of neutral duty, so far as it was understood and practised in the pre-Genevan period. The position which the Colonies have held towards this Alabama question and its solution has been of a two-fold character, and I would beg to call your attention to the two opposite ways by which England has been affected by her Colonial possessions during these unhappy transactions. There is, first, the case of Canada, which was more directly concerned with the negotiations at Washington; and there is, secondly, the case of Australia and the West India Islands, which were more directly concerned in swelling the damages at Geneva. The position of Canada in the Alabama negotiations was a very peculiar one, and altogether unprecedented, I may venture to affirm, in the history of the Colonies. Although she had no part whatever in the wrong which America claimed to have suffered from England; although there was not even an allegation that, in circumstances of great temptation and of singular difficulty, she had overstepped the strict law of neutral obligation; although she neither built "*Alabamas*," nor suffered them to escape, nor malignantly supplied them with coal; although she kept a due check upon her sympathies so that even

Mr. Caleb Cushing was unable to detect a flaw in her conduct, Canada was made a party to the Washington negotiations. She had her own outstanding disputes, it is true, with the United States, but no one pretended to say that they were connected with the American civil war, or had anything to do with the direct quarrel between England and America. That quarrel would have arisen all the same whether Canada had been a portion of Great Britain or not. No appreciable share of the danger which England incurred was contributed by Canada, nor could Canada be held responsible in the remotest degree for the Alabama difficulty. On her own account alone Canada had no motive in buying off a "bloody war" by payment of hard cash and concession of territory. Still, by an extraordinary stroke of policy, of which the hidden motives perhaps are to be sought in the theories of Colonial connection then, and still openly avowed by a certain school of statesmen, Canada was made a partner with Great Britain in the High Commission which met at Washington. Her position, it will be admitted, was a very peculiar one. She was at once a dependant of one of the high contracting powers, and a high contracting power herself. The very Ministers who appeared on the Commission in her behalf were liable to have their actions controlled, and their policy corrected, by the Imperial Government, which admitted them as equals in the negotiation with a foreign country. Perhaps I shall do no injustice to those who contrived this singular process, if I venture to suggest that they purposely designed to let Canada feel all the dignity and delight of independence, with a view to the time when, "her days of apprenticeship being over," she might "take up her freedom." However this may be, it is certain that the importation of Canada into the quarrel was of great use and assistance to the mother-country. I need not remind you of what happened at Washington, how adroitly the Canadian claims on America were set-off against the American claims on England; how the Canadian Fisheries, the Canadian Navigation rights, and the Canadian frontier were dealt in to the advantage of the mother-country; how Canada, in fact, was made to pay, in the shape of the surrender of her claims on account of the Fenian raids, of her fisheries and territorial rights, for the purchase of that for which England sought with an incontinent longing, and which she was resolved to have at any price—the Washington Treaty. I refer to this part of the subject merely to illustrate the anomalous character of the relations of England with her chief dependency, and to point out that as Canada had nothing to do with the Alabama difficulty, so without Canada that difficulty could hardly have been

settled. And if any moral is to be drawn from these transactions, it is the proof of the exceeding value of a Colony to the mother-country in a time of national trouble and danger, especially when that Colony is so loyal, true, and generous as Canada has been, to her infinite glory, throughout these transactions.

If I am not able to speak in the same terms of the other Colonies who have figured in this business—I mean Australia and certain of the West India Islands—I think I shall be able to show that the fault is scarcely their own, and that the obligation which was laid upon them was a false and unjust one, which they could never have conceived in the past, and which is, beyond all question, intolerable and impracticable in the future. I shall endeavour to demonstrate that the new law which was laid down at Washington, and interpreted by an authority which we have agreed to regard, cannot possibly be complied with by the Colonies, and that the attempt to enforce it will infallibly involve the mother-country in great peril, and lead in the first war which breaks out between two maritime Powers to the disruption of the Empire. If what has occurred in the instance of Canada shows the danger to which a Colony is liable by its connection with the mother-country under the present loose condition of international law—rendered still looser than before by the precedent which has been established in the “leading case” henceforward to be quoted as that of the “*Alabama*”—what has happened in regard to the part played by Australia and the Bahamas in this affair is still more worthy of note, as proving the common risk in which both the mother-country and the Colonies will be involved if we accept in any shape whatever the Three New Rules, as interpreted at Geneva, as a portion of the code regulating the conduct of neutrals in time of war. Let us recall a few of the leading facts of the case which has been decided against us, and on account of which we are to pay £8,200,000. Of this amount we may estimate that more than one-half has been incurred through the acts of two out of the three Southern cruisers—the “*Florida*” or “*Oreto*,” and the “*Shenandoah*”—for which we have been made responsible. When I say “we,” I mean of course the people of Great Britain proper. And this brings us at once to the main feature in this remarkable series of transactions, which it is impossible that the taxpayers of this country can regard without interest. The usual rule of justice is that it is the offender who pays the damage; but what do we perceive in this Geneva Award? Precisely the same confusion of right and wrong; the same obliquity of judgment, and the same entanglement of evildoers with evil-sufferers, which have marked every step of this

notable process. Just as there was a sort of triangular duel in the negotiations, where England shot at Canada while America shot at England, so there has been a triangular duel in the award, by which certain Colonies do the injury to America for which England alone has to pay. Because the authorities at the Bahamas, suddenly brought face to face with two belligerent powers, did not take a "better initiative" in respect of the "*Oreto*," and did not guess that she would develop into the "*Florida*;" because the Attorney-General at Nassau did not set on foot measures of "a preventive nature" against a vessel lawfully anchored in the harbour; because the municipal law of the Bahamas did not permit the Governor to seize the "*Oreto*" after she had been released by an order of the Judge; because subsequently the "*Oreto*" went to an unfrequented bay sixty miles off and took in a portion of her crew and armament; because she afterwards returned, being then a fully commissioned foreign man-of-war, and was supplied with coal at Nassau; because, in short, the authorities at Nassau did not evince that "due diligence" which was invented for the use of neutrals eight years after the occurrences we have noted, the people of Great Britain are fined in a sum which swells the total "*Alabama*" damages by perhaps nearly a million sterling. No one has even suggested the possibility of England so improving the municipal laws of the Bahamas, or of exercising a stricter control over the local authorities, or of generally improving the system of administering the law so as to bring it into greater harmony with the models of international equity conceived by M. Staempfli. Still more hopeless would be the attempt to make the people of the Bahamas contribute to the payment of that portion of the Geneva Award which has been incurred through the enterprises of the "*Florida*." A still more remarkable instance of what I may be permitted to call the triangularity which is the one prominent feature in these proceedings, is to be found in that part of the case which relates to the "*Shenandoah*," in which also we perceive that A is made to pay to B for the wrong committed by C,—the anomaly being heightened by the fact that the active agent in the wrong is now B's partner, and shares the proceeds. I am enabled to speak with some confidence on this matter of the "*Shenandoah*," for I was at Melbourne during the time of her visit, and it was my duty to watch all her proceedings in the interest of the public. And first I may premise that the assumption which runs through the whole of the American case, and which is constantly used to give colour and force to the faint allegations and the feeble suspicions of the American counsel and arbitrators throughout their

pleadings, is absolutely false and unjust. We are told over and over again, as though it were a matter beyond all doubt, with a persistency which seems at last to have shaken even our own advocates at Geneva, that the authorities at Melbourne sympathised with what is called by Mr. Adams "the cause of the malefactors," meaning the Confederates. I can only aver that, to the best of my knowledge and observation, the leaning of the Victorian Ministry of the day was all to the other side. It is quite true, as Mr. Adams alleges, that there was "a strong current of popular sympathy" with the cause of the South; but I presume it is not for the sympathies of the Victorian people that the British nation has been fined. That would be carrying the principle of vicarious atonement a little too far. I can vouch for the fact, which I believe every resident in Melbourne at the time can confirm, that whatever may have been the sympathies of the Colonists, the Government was, through the personal feeling of the majority of its members, rather inclined to the Northern than to the Southern side. It is certain, at least, that it strained the law as it existed at the time to comply with the letter of its neutral obligations. There was no lack of vigilance or of authority, so far as it was possible for the Government of a Colony to comprehend so novel and strange a duty, in carrying out what was honestly believed to be the law of nations in respect to the treatment of belligerent vessels in a neutral port. As to that part of the American case which is based on the character of the "*Shenandoah*" previous to her arrival at Melbourne, we may put that aside as altogether impertinent to the issue. The Victorian Government had no trustworthy legal knowledge of the "*Shenandoah*" beyond the fact that she was a belligerent vessel; they had no means of acquiring any other knowledge, nor was it their duty to do so. The bay of Port Philip, I may inform some of my hearers, is about forty miles long from the mouth to the anchorage at Sandridge, Melbourne being three miles up the River Yarra. During the whole period of the "*Shenandoah's*" visit there was no English man-of-war in the port or near Victorian waters, the vessel dignified in Mr. Adams' judgment by the name of "Her Majesty's ship '*Bombay*,'" being the Peninsular and Oriental Company's mail steamer, having no right or power to maintain the Imperial dignity in these waters. There was indeed the Colonial steam ship "*Victoria*," at that time lying off the port, but it is absurd to suppose that she represented a naval force sufficient to maintain the observance of international law by a belligerent like the "*Shenandoah*." Not less unreasonable was it to expect anything more on the part of the local authorities than

the observance of the common duties prescribed by the law of nations, according to such lights as a young Colony like Victoria might possess. The duty of a neutral Government, at least as it stood at the date of the "*Shenandoah's*" visit to Melbourne, has been summed up concisely by the Lord-Chief Justice of England in that admirable judgment which has earned for him the undying gratitude of all true Englishmen, and not less the respect of all free nations desirous of living at peace with their neighbours. Sir Alexander has affirmed—"first, that the law of the neutral shall be sufficient to enable the Executive to prevent breaches of its duties as a neutral; secondly, that where its application is called for, the law shall be put in force honestly and in good faith; thirdly, that all proper and legitimate means shall be used to detect an intended violation of the law, so as by the application of the law to prevent it." According to this test, any impartial tribunal, composed, not of jurists trained exclusively on continental models, or bound down by *ex post facto* rules to deliver a pre-arranged verdict, but of persons capable of understanding the constitutional theory of Government as practised among British communities, must pronounce the Government of Victoria to have been guiltless of any infraction of neutral duty. It did even more than could fairly be demanded of the Executive of a young Colony, with a sparse population, and with no standing army or naval force at its disposal, suddenly confronted with so novel and unprecedented a difficulty. Its municipal law was the same as the law of England and the law of America. Its means of enforcing it were naturally feebler than in an old country. Mr. Caleb Cushing, as we all know, insists that England is not a constitutional country, but the wildest fancy has never suggested that Victoria was a despotism. I must maintain that in this case, under very trying circumstances, not only did the Victorian Government act in perfect good faith towards its unwelcome visitors, but that unless "due diligence" is taken to mean the absolute guarantee of the belligerent by the neutral against any wrong from another belligerent, due diligence was used even as to the extent intended by the Three New Rules in respect of the "*Shenandoah*." On January 25th, 1864, the "*Shenandoah*" dropped anchor in Port Philip Bay, and on the 18th of the month following she took her departure. Let us recall the chief incidents connected with the stay of that vessel within the Victorian waters. She was just twenty-four days altogether in port, of which the greater part was passed on the stocks, undergoing repairs in what is called the Government slip, but which was then and has always been private property. During

all this time she was under the active surveillance of the local police, a force which I have no hesitation in saying was at least as equal to its duties as any similar body in the world. So far as any vessel of this kind and under these conditions could be carefully watched, the "*Shenandoah*" was so, to the great trouble and inconvenience of the Government. On one occasion the authorities even went so far as to take formal possession of the ship and the vessel, a proceeding of course entirely beyond the law, and which had to be retracted on a threat of the Confederate captain that he would hold his ship a prize to the Victorian Government, and himself and his crew prisoners of war. As a proof of how difficult was the task of the Government, I may repeat a statement made to me at the time by Captain Waddell himself that if he had four vessels like the "*Shenandoah*" he could have manned them all by volunteers in Port Philip, if he were permitted. On the good old principle therefore, that

"What's done we partly may compute,  
But know not what's resisted."

I think I have a right to take credit to the Victorian Government for the efforts they made in complying with their duty. That those efforts were to all reasonable extent successful is proved by the paltry nature of the charges which form the burden of the American case in regard to the "*Shenandoah*." The crimes of which the Victorian Government were found to be guilty at Geneva were, according to the record, that there was almost universal sympathy in Melbourne with the "*Shenandoah*"; that she was permitted to complete the repairs necessary to make her a sea-going ship; that the Governor was "too polite" in his communications with Captain Waddell; that there was a difficulty in obtaining a warrant against a certain "Charley" who malignantly hid himself in the ship's hold; that on a certain occasion the Government authorities did not "repel by force" a menace of the Captain; that an excessive quantity of coal was supplied; that, finally, in spite of the precautions taken by the police the "*Shenandoah*" did contrive to carry away with her some twenty hands from Melbourne—a fact which is only learnt from the letter of the Governor, Sir Charles Darling, complaining that the neutrality had been violated, to the governors of the other Australian colonies. The evidence on which these charges was based would have been insignificant if the pursuer had been a private individual: it was doubly insignificant and ridiculous, when we consider what was the character of the plaintiff. It consists of such things as the private conversation of the crimps at Sandridge with the American

consul ; the refusal of Mr. Gurner, the Crown Solicitor, to put off his dinner in order to serve a warrant on a particular day, a piece of conduct in that gentleman which those who have the pleasure of his acquaintance will hardly ascribe to political motives ; the over-candid declaration of Sir Charles Darling, that a violation of neutrality had been committed. As to the last fact, which seems chiefly to have weighed with Count Sclopis, we may surely protest with Sir Alexander Cockburn, that to hold the Governor responsible for that of which he complained is to reverse the order of things and to make the party wronged liable in place of the wrong-doer. Whatever offence there was in Captain Waddell's act was an offence against the neutral country whose laws he had violated. That the United States, now including the country of the "malefactors," to use Mr. Adams' word, should benefit by the injury inflicted by its present partner on a peaceful community, is a reversal of all the principles of justice. That cannot be good international law which would be absurd as municipal law. The least we had a right to expect from the American side was that the fact of the violation of the neutrality should have been proved otherwise than through Sir Charles Darling's admission. But allowing the fact, what can be more unjust than the punishment which has been inflicted ? Because the Governor was "too civil" to the captain ; because Mr. Gurner was more zealous for his dinner than for his interest of justice ; because the vigilance of the police did not prevent some infraction of the law, therefore England is to be fined six millions of dollars ! Was there ever a more monstrous verdict—a greater miscarriage of justice—a more flagrant outrage upon every principle of law ?

As a climax to these matchless proceedings, we have again the feature which I noted in the case of the "*Florida*" and in a still more emphatic degree. The crime of having our neutrality violated at Melbourne was, if a crime, committed by the people of Victoria. The atonement is made by the people of Great Britain. It is to this point of the case to which I beg to call special attention, as indicating the peril which I hold to be contained in this Geneva Award, and in the law on which it is based. The mother-country is made exclusively responsible for the acts of the Colony, whereas, as we know, in point of fact, the so-called Imperial authorities have no real control over the Colonial. I need not inquire what is Count Sclopis' or M. Staempfli's notion of the relation between England and her Colonies. I dare say I should be told that in the eye of the international law, if there is such a thing, the mother-country and her Colonies are one. How far this is from the fact

I appeal to the members of the Royal Colonial Institute to pronounce. Every Colonist, at least every Colonist having experience of what is called Colonial responsible government, especially as practised in Australia, will acknowledge the absurdity of including Victoria and Great Britain in the same liability in such a case as that of the "*Shenandoah*." If there was a common crime in what was done or not done towards the fulfilment of our neutral obligations at Melbourne, then why is there not a common punishment? How is it that no one has proposed to make the people of Victoria as well as the people of the Bahamas contribute to the payment of the Geneva Award? I don't think that even the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with all his courage, if he had even a deficit instead of a surplus to provide for, would have the hardihood to propose that a tax should be levied on the citizens of Melbourne for their share in the "*Shenandoah*" transactions. And yet it would be only strict justice that if any one is fined it should be the immediate wrong-doers, for the taxpayers of Great Britain had no more control over the event than if it happened in the moon. The Government at home has long since relinquished all control over the executive in those Colonies which are endowed with what are called responsible institutions. It could not by any possibility have directed the movements of the Melbourne police. Even if it had known the law to be what it is now declared, it could not have enforced it against the "*Shenandoah*." It is provided with no machinery for repressing the sympathies of the inhabitants of Victoria, still less could it have prevented the clandestine stowing away of British seamen on board the Confederate vessel. Even supposing the law in future to be as we interpret it, and not as the Geneva Tribunal has laid it down, there is no prospect whatever of our exercising "due diligence" over all the coast and harbours of Australia. If we could not take that "better initiative," our failure in which appears to be our crowning sin in the eyes of the American and Continental jurists, at our own port of Liverpool, it is absolutely hopeless that we should do so at Melbourne. Yet there remains the amazing fact that the people of Great Britain have been fined £3,200,000, mainly because what is loosely called "the nation" was not able to fulfil all the duties declared to be incumbent on neutrals over all its vast expanse of sea-board. If we could not do so during the late American Civil War, what chance is there of our being able to do so in future wars? What are the grounds of our assurance that the authorities in Australia will be any better disposed to comprehend and to fulfil their international obligations since the lesson we have received at Geneva? I ven-

ture to affirm that not more, but less, is likely to be done by the Victorian Government on a future occasion. In the case of the "*Shenandoah*" it strained and exhausted both its will and its powers. The probabilities are against it doing as much again, and we can the more confidently make this prediction seeing that the Colonies have learnt that there is always some one at home to pay for their negligence.

Such a condition of things demands, I think, the serious attention of all who are interested in the maintenance of the Empire and in the continuance of the bonds which now unite the Colonies to Great Britain. Whatever else the Washington Treaty has done it has given a sensible shock to our vision of a united Empire. I say nothing about the principle of Arbitration, which does not concern my subject. Arbitration is, of course, a good thing, which we all desire to see substituted for war as a mode of adjusting international quarrels. I am afraid the principle is not just now in very good odour, but that is only because of its wrong and immoderate application. What I chiefly desire to point out is that the effect of the recent transactions, and especially of the new and alarming doctrines of international law which we have appeared to sanction, is even more pernicious than has generally been supposed. They have already given the people of Great Britain an occasion to regard the Colonial connection as a burden, and their ultimate consequences must be, if any attempt is made to carry them out, the dissolution of the Empire. Certainly none of the free and self-governed Colonies of England will submit to the monstrous law of "due diligence" under which we have lately been subject to a money penalty. Equally certain is it that the people of England will not submit a second time to be fined because of an offence committed at the other end of the world. The crisis will come about in one of two ways. Either the Imperial Government will attempt to enforce its executive authority in some direct way over the Colonies, in which case the Colonies will certainly break away; or public opinion at home will incline to the opinion of those statesmen, only too ready to take advantage of such an opportunity, who hold that the Colonies are not worth the keeping.

As to the possibility of the New Rules, or anything like them, being observed in the future by our Colonies, the idea is too absurd to be entertained. Let us consider what it is that neutrals are henceforth bound to do under the mildest construction of the law of Geneva. They are bound to use such "due diligence" as will absolutely secure one belligerent against any breach of neutrality.

by another belligerent. They are bound to employ a certain executive force, unknown in the practice of free Governments and strange to our national usages and habits of life, in order to prevent individuals from breaking the law. They are bound to set the law itself in some peculiar way known on the Continent as "taking a better initiative." They are bound not to be too polite to the captains of belligerent war-ships. They are bound to place the whole detective and ordinary police at the service of the stronger belligerent, and to be thoroughly well acquainted with all the relations in every degree of the people suspected of sympathising with the other belligerent. They are bound not to be content with the sentences of their courts of law and the opinions of their judges and law-officers. Finally, that good faith, the proof of which has hitherto been sufficient to excuse errors or failures in the ordinary processes of law, is not henceforth to be admitted. Within the New Rules we find three distinct and specific novelties unknown before to international law, which we are required to observe in the future. In the first place, as to due diligence, which henceforth means doing as much as will satisfy the stronger belligerent. Secondly, commissioned ships of war which, however they had acquired their character, have hitherto been entitled to take shelter in neutral ports, are henceforth to be deprived of that privilege, thus throwing upon the unfortunate neutral the onerous duty of finding out, in each case, the precise history of the vessel which visits her ports. Thirdly, the neutral is no longer to supply coals to belligerent vessels even within neutral territory, which is a rule against the doctrine of all existing authorities on international law, and contrary to the practice of all civilised nations. In all these respects we are henceforth, if we comply with the Geneva decision, to exercise due diligence within all ports and waters, and over all persons within the jurisdiction of England—to be duly diligent, in fact, in taking care that every one else within the denomination of British citizens is duly diligent. We are to prevent the arming and equipping of any vessel which some authority resident in London has "reasonable ground to believe is intended to cruise or to carry on war against a Power with which it is at peace." We are to prevent the departure of any such vessel, whether wholly or partially adapted for war, from any of our ports. We are not to suffer either belligerent to make use of our waters "as a base of naval operations against the other," or for "the renewal or augmentation of military supplies or arms, or the recruitment of men." Finally, we are to prevent any violation of the foregoing obligations by any one within our jurisdiction. And all these

large powers and loose obligations we are expected to use and enforce over all the waters of the British Empire, that is to say, over a territory spread over the whole habitable earth, divided into numerous separate countries, including a thousand ports and harbours, variously populated and administered, and owning, for the greater part, but a nominal allegiance to the central Power which has undertaken to be responsible for all ! Is it necessary to point out that we have undertaken a burden greater than we can bear, under which we must infallibly break down, carrying in our fall the whole fabric of Empire ? It would be hard for Great Britain alone, did she represent nothing else than the home islands, to discharge such an obligation. It is morally and physically impossible for her to do it as a great world-empire, with her forty Colonies and their thousands of miles of sea-board.

There are two sources of consolation offered to us, neither of which can be said to convey much comfort, and which are clearly inconsistent one with the other.

In the first place we have been told that the New Rules, by making the liability of the neutral more stringent, will be all in favour of England as a belligerent Power. We are asked to believe that we have secured some new immunity as a belligerent—in other words, a better and surer means of carrying on war whenever we are disposed to do so. I confess I am astonished to find this argument in the mouths of those who are responsible for the Washington Treaty. What, then, was the object of these negotiations—the end sought to be attained by this process of healing the "*Alabama*" sore ? Was it not to limit the area of war—to discourage the practice of belligerency—to encourage and to favour those who keep the peace rather than those who break it ? And are we now to be told that all we have got by our sacrifices and our humiliations—by all this laborious and painful process of arbitration, which has rather stirred the flame than quenched it, is a new weapon of war, a better mode of settling quarrels, not by arbitration, but by the sword ? Surely all who are really in favour of the growth of peace ideas, and who are advocates of true Arbitration, ought to scout this theory which has been propounded in defence of the New Rules—that we have obtained a certain advantage over our rivals which will enable us as a maritime nation to carry on a war with greater ease than before. It would be very easy to show, if it were worth while to do so, that this notion is an entire delusion ; that we have not gained any advantage out of the Geneva decision, but have rather placed, by our acceptance of it, a very formidable weapon of offence in the hands of our

enemies. But even if it had been the other way, surely the Three New Rules would have been equally condemned. We were supposed as a nation to have definitely abandoned the practice of war. We have shaped our whole policy in the direction of peace. We have been taught by some of our statesmen that it is "cheaper for England to fight by gold than by iron." We have been congratulated because in this particular transaction at Geneva we have escaped "a bloody war" at the absurdly small price of £3,200,000! To the extent, therefore, that the New Rules presents us with a new weapon, useful only if we are in a state of belligerency, they are to be scouted as alien and opposed to the whole spirit and scope of the negotiations.

But then we have the second consolation offered to us that, after all, the New Rules mean nothing; that we have not accepted them; and that we shall not be bound by them in the future. This is a plea surely quite as extraordinary as the other, and obviously quite as barren of comfort. What, then, is our net gain by this transaction, if we have not even secured a new law which is to guide the conduct of maritime nations—if we have not cured that defect which was believed to exist in the international code, out of which arose our quarrel with America? The argument which was used to recommend the Washington Treaty to Parliament was that, even if England had consented to the unprecedented course of submitting to be judged *ex post facto* rule, it was necessary to her future peace and happiness, as well as to the interests of civilisation, that these New Rules should be affirmed. That was the consideration which we were to receive as a nation for the price we paid for the Washington Treaty—it being held quite fair that England should pay out of her own pocket for that which was to promote the interest of all nations. In the speech delivered by Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons on the Washington Treaty, we were assured that though a great concession had been made to America, "we had obtained the basis of an understanding which will harden and widen into an International Law for the benefit of the world." That treaty, the Prime Minister went on to say, has "laid the foundation of future advantage in the administration and action of International Law." If anything like such a result had been obtained, we might have forgiven the irregularities in this very one-sided arrangement, by which England was made to pay for a reform of the international code. But has such a result been obtained? The kernel of the Washington Treaty lies, of course, in the Three New Rules. Either these are the basis of a better International Law, or we have no new point of

departure at all. But now we find that on the first and only occasion in which the New Rules have been tested, the object for which they were shaped, and which was to yield that great precedent by whose influence all international law would be hardened and widened, has not been obtained. The Rules to which we attach so much value are to be repudiated. We are told that the interpretation of them by the Geneva Tribunal was really no interpretation at all, but only a "recital," by which we are not bound. I confess I am unable to understand the distinction, and still less can I comprehend how the Rules can be stated to have "no ambiguity attaching to them," to have passed "through the ordeal of the Geneva trial, and to stand well." It seems that they do not stand at all. Nobody will have them at any price. The nations for whose benefit they were devised refuse to look at them; and our best hope at present is that even America, our partner in this precious piece of codification, will reject the joint work and ultimately accept our own theory that they are absurd, unintelligible, and impracticable.

But what I desire to point out in conclusion is that, although we have not accepted, and cannot accept, the New Rules in the meaning given to them by the Geneva Tribunal, we cannot help being committed to them to a certain extent. We cannot separate the Rules from the Award, which was based on them, and which flowed out of them. We have added a new precedent of a dangerous kind to the body of International Law; and what is International Law itself but a heap of precedents? The interpretation under which we have been made to pay £3,200,000 is the interpretation of the most formal and authoritative tribunal—in fact, the only regular tribunal which was ever constituted to try an international question. We cannot of our own choice set aside that authority of our own creation. Neither have we made any formal protest against the decision. We have only repeated to ourselves that we shall not observe it in future. We have given no notice of our repudiation of the Three New Rules to Foreign Powers. We have never thought of communicating with the Colonies as to what they should do in future in such cases as the "Florida" and "Shenandoah." We have confounded what was confused enough before, and added a new element of danger to the profession of neutrals. We have enlarged the area of our Imperial liability in war, without having contributed any new security to the Empire. Neither is it any assurance to be told that there never will be wars again, and therefore that it is not worth while to consider so remote a contingency as a Colony being suddenly called upon to interpret for itself the new law of neutrals.

Are we, then, to leave this matter as it stands, like most other questions of Imperial policy, hoping for a solution through something which may turn up, and trusting in the chapter of accidents? —I think I have shown by what has occurred in the past that there lie here the germs of a great future difficulty between England and her Colonies—a danger greater than that from which we have escaped by this Washington Treaty. The whole transactions connected with this unhappy "*Alabama*" dispute furnish one more argument to the many already existing in favour of a clearer definition of our Colonial relations. I will ask even those who may be hostile to the objects of the Royal Colonial Institute to consider with how vastly greater power and influence England would have entered into the Washington Treaty, and how much more likely she would have been to secure a result honourable to herself, and advantageous to the peace of the world and the cause of civilisation, had she appeared in the arena in the shape of a United British Confederation, representing the forces and the interests of the entire group of English communities.

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#### DISCUSSION.

Sir HUGH ALLAN, on being called upon to open the discussion, said he did not feel that it would be his duty, and certainly it would not be his interest, to express the opinions that he entertained in common with the inhabitants of Canada with respect to the arbitration at Geneva. They felt that they had been wronged and that their interests had been sacrificed, but they also felt that it would be very much better to make their opinions known only to official parties.

Mr. MACFIE, M.P., said he had listened to the paper with much interest, and from it had received a great deal of information. It should stimulate them in the direction in which they moved, viz., of hitting upon a plan of uniting the Empire so that they might have councils for the whole of Her Majesty's dominions. He did not see that the Government had any very decided views as to concerted action between the Colonies and the mother-country, and therefore the Colonial Institute could not be better occupied than in circulating information on the subject. What chance he would ask was there of Mr. Watts's views coming before the people of England? The newspapers of this country took very little interest in Colonial questions. Their end and aim was to get a large number of advertisements, and the proprietors did not find that they sold an extra number of copies by "going in" for the unity

of the Empire. (Hear, hear.) Such papers as the one they had just heard read would be productive of much good if they were only properly circulated. It was quite clear the dissolution of Parliament was not very far off, and what a fearful loss to the Empire it would be if they had another Parliament like the present. He did not know how it was in his Grace's House—or in the Upper House as it was commonly called—for they lived in such elevated regions, and apart from the direct influences of the people, but the House of Commons quite misrepresented the opinions of the people. He considered the House of Lords should take the lead in cementing the Empire together. For what was the meaning of the word "Duke"? It undoubtedly meant *dux*, or "leader"—one constituted by the Queen to consult with the people, to lead public opinion, to express public opinion, and to bring public opinion to bear upon all questions affecting the welfare of the community. (Hear, hear.) He must admit that the present Parliament had done a great deal of good, but the members were not resolute with regard to the maintenance of the Empire; they were afraid of the people, and they thought they would not be supported if they were to pay off one or two millions of the National Debt. They were also afraid that if they asked the Colonies to join them in uniting the Empire they would not respond. Now he might be mistaken, but from what he knew of the Colonies he should say they would be most willing to stand up in defence and honour of the British flag, and allow this country to remain the leader of civilisation and the defender of the liberties of mankind. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) In conclusion, he would say by all means get public opinion, no matter whether it cost thousands of pounds to obtain it, and let the people know that if the present policy was continued the Empire would go to pieces.

Mr. COLLET fully believed that there never was a treaty more fraught with mischief than the Treaty of Washington, and, whoever the parties were who designed it, they did it for the express purpose of bringing about the dismemberment of the Empire. (Cries of "No, no.") On being called upon by several members for his reasons for saying so, Mr. Collet said it would take up too much time to go deep into the matter, and he could not give his reasons without wandering away from the subject under discussion. To deal with Mr. Watt's paper: In the first place, he thought it was quite time we got rid of that matter which has justly been called "triangularity." He did not see that we had obtained any benefit from the Treaty. The people of Canada had been made to pay most unjustly, and we had gained nothing but the settlement of

the "Alabama question"—an affair which was entirely our own, and for which it must frankly be owned we were culpable. He maintained that the whole of the "Alabama" quarrel arose from the policy which the Government had pursued for years, and that the question they were now discussing would never have arisen had the "Alabama" been detained at Birkenhead. The people of England, therefore, were not unfairly punished in having to pay for the misdeeds of Her Majesty's Government. He did not believe the dismemberment of the Empire would be brought about in the way Mr. Macfie had suggested so much as by our compelling the Colonies to bear their own share of damages. Were we to ask the Bahamas and Melbourne to pay their share for allowing the vessels to leave their ports we should bring about dismemberment at once. He did not believe in the new way of settling international disputes. Formerly it had been the practice that international law should be laid down in the courts of the belligerent, but this was the first time that an international dispute had been referred to an independent tribunal—the first time that a quarrel had been submitted, not to arbitration, but to a conference, a conference of foreigners which had nothing of the character of arbitration about it. The practice was one which England had participated in with other nations. It was the conference of London that arranged the separation of Greece from Turkey, and it was the conference at Verona which caused the dismemberment of Spain. It was in the new mode of procedure, then, that the Treaty of Washington would effect the break-up of the Empire. He should say another thing that would tend to dismemberment would be the assembling of the representatives of the British empire in one Parliament. (Cries of "No, no.") If that were done it would blow up the Empire at once—"oh! oh!"—and we should find that the whole of the Colonies would be other Irelands.

Mr. F. P. LABILLIÈRE differed entirely from the views expressed by the last speaker, and to a very considerable extent with the opinions expressed by Mr. Watts. There was one thing, however, which pleased him much, and that was the thoroughly good Imperial ring of the author's remarks. Mr. Watts to his mind did not show that if the Three New Rules had been in existence at the time the "Shenandoah" was at Melbourne that she would have escaped from that port as she did, and that we should have incurred the liability which had been attached to us. He (the speaker) believed that had the Three New Rules been in operation at the time, the authorities of Melbourne would have been armed with powers they did not possess, and that the breach of international law, for which we had

been obliged to pay damages, would not have taken place. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the future operation of those Rules he agreed with Mr. Watts, that it was not desirable that matters should stand as they were at present. We were just now in a transition state with respect to international relations. To the Three New Rules we stood very much in the same position as we did to the law of this country. When an Act of Parliament had been passed, and a case was brought before the judges at Westminster, they held that the legislative enactment had a different effect to that which was intended. What was the result? Parliament was not asked to repeal the enactment, but to amend it by the adoption of further legislative action. That, then, was our position at the present time, and he looked upon the new Rules as a great gain in one important direction—in the direction of exempting belligerent private property from capture. We were all aware that international law dealt differently with property on land and sea. On land no foreign belligerent demanded for one moment to interfere with private property except to the extent that he found it absolutely necessary to provide for the wants of his army. A belligerent never thought of confiscating private property. Now let that question prevail with ships. Let no belligerent take anything but that which was absolutely required for provisioning his forces on the sea. Why, if that were the law—and that was the rule of international law in the direction in which we were moving—then all the difficulty we had been considering would be removed. He believed the adoption of the Three New Rules was a step in the right direction, although for the present they placed us in a very embarrassing position.

Captain COLOMB, R.M.A., trusted that Mr. Watts's paper would have a wide circulation; that it would come before the people of this country, and that they might reflect on the lesson that had been taught by the negotiations at Washington. Mr. Watts had shown us that we had responsibilities extending beyond these shores, and that acts arising and actions done in other parts of the empire affected us most materially. He truly said that we paid, or had to pay, £3,200,000 to avoid a "bloody war," and we ought to regret it. We all felt that we had been wronged, still we felt that it had saved us from a war. He did not believe that the Washington treaty would have been necessary had men felt at home and in the Colonies that they were prepared to defend their position. The "*Alabama*" affair was a lesson to us, and he trusted that as we were responsible for acts done by our Colonies, and as they became obligations for which we should have to pay, that in future we might consider how best to defend the Empire and uphold its

dignity. (Hear, hear.) As we were going on at present, it would not be the Three New Rules that we should have to look to when the next complication arrived, but something more like the rule of three, that is, if we had to pay £8,000,000 on this occasion, how much should we have to pay next?

Mr. EDWARD WILSON said, in judging, or endeavouring to judge, the question of the "Alabama" arbitration, he was always placed in a very curious difficulty. Humiliated by the result, he felt still more humiliated by the original cause of the quarrel. In all matters of discussion it was very desirable, as nearly as one could, to take up the position of the opposite party, and supposing that he were in America, he must say that if his country was indemnified to the extent that she was now, that he felt that injuries had been inflicted on his country during the crisis of a very troublesome and expensive war; that when the time came, and he found that his country had received £8,200,000 for it, he should say that she was very badly compensated. Well, it was not right to judge unfairly of the truth. He demurred to the Geneva Conference, but he demurred much more to what went on at Birkenhead. Mr. Collet had admirably sketched out our position, but what was it? Only a few days since there had been a discussion about aiding the Carlists in Spain, and this was because we thought Spain was too weak to bring us to book at Geneva. He (the speaker) denounced this beggarly spirit from first to last. When a nation would sell one thing one day to one belligerent and a more formidable thing the next day to another, till it culminated at last in sending a man-of-war to sea, that nation deserved to have to pay for it. As to the possible result of getting Colonial representatives in the British Parliament, he was in favour of the idea for many reasons, but principally because he thought it would tend to elevate the sentiment of the House. He did not believe it would cause dismemberment of the Empire; on the contrary, he thought it would be one of the best means of strengthening the tie which at present exists. (Hear, hear.) The elevating sentiment which actuates mankind had resulted in very little if it had not taught us good neighbourhood one to another, and it was because he believed that the representation of the Colonies in Parliament would tend to the scouting of the beggarly style of vestryism which obtained in the House, and tend to elevate the Imperial sentiment, that he was always advocating the representation of the Colonies in the British House of Commons.

Lieutenant Ross, although a young member of the Institute, would like to say a few words. He had had some experience of one Colony, he took a great deal of interest in another, and as the ques-

tion under discussion was the coming question of the day, any information given in sincerity would, he was sure, be received with welcome. It seemed to him the chief thing the paper elucidated was that we Englishmen cared to keep our Colonies, and that the Colonies desired to keep us. The real question, then, was how to keep up the connection. Well, dropping all cash questions of the "*Alabama*," it seemed to him that some little fault lay with the Colonies. From the papers sent over to this country he gathered, and he thought every Colonist must have noticed the fact, that the Colonies were constantly differing amongst themselves. If such was the case, what on earth would be the good of sending members of Parliament over to this country? Of course, the gentlemen he saw around him were the very *élite* of the liberal-minded people of the Colonies. But what made a large number of our own countrymen think that the Colonies were not worth keeping? Simply the reports in the Colonial papers of the grumblings and petty differences which prevail among the people. (Cries of "No, no.") At any rate, that was the impression it left upon his mind, and he thoroughly and honestly believed it was the impression left upon the minds of many Englishmen, and was the great cause of the uncordiality which existed between the Colonies and the mother-country.

Major WALKER did not think it was to the blame of Canada or any other Colony that differences of opinion should exist on the question of federation. (Hear, hear.) The millennium had not arrived in the Colonies any more than it had taken place in England. He was very glad to see that the question of federation was again being considered, and that there was some reasonable prospect that within our lifetime we might see a closer and more equitable bond of union between England and her Colonies. He was very glad to hear the sympathy that had been expressed for Canada, but at the time he felt bound to deprecate a little of that excessive sympathy. Canada was no doubt somewhat harshly treated, but she received some advantages in return for the sacrifices she was called upon to make. The Canadians had still the old Saxon spirit strong within them. With respect to the recent difficulty with the United States, they were quite anxious that there should be no arbitration, but that the quarrel should be settled in the old-fashioned way—by the sword. They were quite willing to face what they knew to be inevitable through our misdeeds and our faults, and they wished the plains of Canada to be the battle-field on which the struggle should be fought. When the alternative of arbitration was put before them, however, they accepted it as a clear and distinct

advance in the progress of the world, and they were very glad that they should be the first to suffer for the glorious improvement upon the old-fashioned way of settling quarrels.

Mr. A. B. ABRAHAM said if there were any persons in the realm who thought that the Three New Rules were to be sent out to the Colonies as well as to the various foreign governments without note or comment, they would be very much deceived after reading Mr. Watts's paper. The three rules were being quietly discussed in the Colonies ; and there were minds at work considering what action should be taken in case of any future quarrel arising. He was sorry his friend Mr. Michie was not present, but he heard from him that after having been blamed very much by the general public in Melbourne for the great care he exercised towards the "*Shenandoah*," he was very much surprised to find on his arrival in this country that England had been made liable for the faults of the local government. He had recently returned to Melbourne, and he (the speaker) had no doubt that the position of matters under the Three New Rules had been very fairly laid before the proper authorities. He would like to make two remarks on the paper : first, as to how the new rules affected the Colonies as neutrals ; and, secondly, as belligerents. He thought every one would agree that the position of neutrals now was a very difficult one, and that their responsibilities were very great. If the Colonies were to separate from the mother country, of course they would be neutral, because they could not afford to take part one way or the other, but it was very unlikely that the Colonies in face of the existing state of the law would desire to be independent ; in point of fact, they could not accept the responsibility. As due diligence in future was to be judged according to the circumstances in which belligerents were placed, he would like to know how the people at the Antipodes were to be informed as to the course of a war at the other end of the globe, so as to know how to act. He believed the Three New Rules were not likely to bring about dismemberment of the Empire, but that they would rather tend to strengthen the bond which exists between the Colonies and this country. (Hear, hear.) As regards the position of the Colonies in case Great Britain was a belligerent : Under the term "due diligence" any belligerent would be prevented from preying upon commerce. He would assume that a war had broken out between America and England. America would of course be bound by the interpretation of the Geneva arbitration only in case Great Britain maintained a thorough blockade of the American ports. The great thing would be, then, that Great Britain should maintain an effectual blockade. If that were done, America could not go to France or Russia, and

make those countries the base of operations, and get privateers there to prey upon the shipping. Under the Three New Rules the Colonies would undoubtedly expect Great Britain to give them very distinct information as to how they were to act in time of war.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG rose for the purpose of expressing an opinion which he had long entertained, and which had been confirmed by the paper and discussion they had heard, that the Three New Rules would be found to be of such an onerous character, that in case of any future war they could not be carried out or applied. Wars could not be made of rose water, and it would be impossible to apply the Three New Rules to any future quarrel.

The noble CHAIRMAN said he would like to say a few words before the meeting separated. In the first place he thought it was Mr. Collet who made some remarks about having members from the Colonies to sit in the Imperial Parliament, and suggested that they would be something like the Irish members, and produce a somewhat like effect.

Mr. COLLET, in explanation, said he did not mean to say one word in depreciation of Colonial members. What he wished to show was that as the whole of the Colonies were in a minority, the representatives of Great Britain would set the Colonial members aside, and that England would reserve to herself the right of managing the affairs of the Colonies as she did those of America.

The noble CHAIRMAN, in continuation, said that was his reason for holding that it would be impossible to have sufficient members in the House of Commons without making that institution still more unwieldy than it was at present, and therefore while he entirely entertained the idea that the Colonies ought in some way to have a voice in the Government of the Empire, he thought it could not be done by representation in Parliament. Mr. Labillière, in his remarks, had suggested that the adoption of the Three New Rules entailed a promise on the part of maritime powers not to interfere with private property at sea. Now, he (the chairman) thought he was in error on that supposition, for only the other day Count Sclopis made the remark that Austria would not accept the Three New Rules unless we agreed upon the exemption of private property at sea from capture; so that at present the new rules did not affect the capture of private property at sea. Mr. Collet made a remark which struck him forcibly. He attributed the timorous, yielding, weak-back policy that had been adopted by England with regard to foreign powers to a consciousness of our weakness, and

he (the speaker) thought he was right. He believed that the English people, on comparing their position with the position of other powers, felt degraded with their knowledge of military affairs. There was no doubt that, relatively speaking, we had enormously decreased in military power, but he thought we might console ourselves to some extent if we looked at the position which Canada occupied in that respect, and by looking at Canada try to follow her example and do as she had done. Major Walker had spoken of the willingness of the Canadians to defend their country, but he (the speaker) thought they had no reason to fear any war with the United States. The Americans had a very small army scattered over a considerable area, whereas Canada had 698,000 men enrolled, 150,000 of whom were ready for the field at a moment's notice; 6,000 officers had been trained to lead them. When the Fenian raid was expected the adjutant-general received orders while in a railway carriage in the afternoon to have 10,000 men posted at certain places on the frontier. He went into the post-office carriage, wrote out his telegrams, sent them off about 5 o'clock the same day, and by 11 A.M. next morning there were 14,000 men under arms at the points directed. That showed their spirit, and he believed with Major Walker, that the Canadians would be quite ready to have a brush with the Yankees. But let us compare what we should do if we followed their example. The population of Canada was about four millions; we had fully seven times that, more than twenty-eight millions, and out of that number we ought to have about four millions ready to defend England at any moment. With such an army we need not be afraid of the Americans nor any one else, neither should we have any more weak-backed treaties like the Treaty of Washington. These were the only remarks he had to make, and although he might have at first thought it late in the day to deal with the Geneva arbitration, yet he must say that several novel points had been elucidated by Mr. Watts, and on the part of the members present he begged to thank him for his very able paper.

The meeting then separated.

The Institute held its Fifth Annual Meeting at the Rooms of the Institute, No. 15, Strand, on Saturday, the 28th of June, 1873.

His Grace the Duke of MANCHESTER, the President, took the chair at Three p.m.

There was a large attendance of the Fellows, among whom were the following :—The Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, M.P.; Sir Richard Graves McDonnell, K.C.M.G., and C.B.; Sir Francis Smith, Chief Justice of Tasmania; Major George Arbuthnot, M.P.; Major-General Millington Synge, R.E.; Colonel T. St. L. Alcock; Captain J. C. R. Colomb, R.M.A.; Frederick Young, Esq.; Gisborne Molineux, Esq.; Leonard Wray, Esq.; James Farmer, Esq., M.L.C., of New Zealand; Edwin Carton Booth, Esq.; F. P. Labilli  re, Esq.; G. R. Godson, Esq.; Hugh Jamieson, Esq.; Jacob Montefiore, Esq.; Augustus B. Abraham, Esq.; F. S. Dutton, Esq., C.M.G., Agent-General for South Australia; H. E. Montgomerie, Esq.; Cecil Wray, Esq.; A. M. Uniacke, Esq., of Nova Scotia; Edward Wilson, Esq.; Henry Blaine, Esq.; William Walker, Esq.; Humphry W. Freeland, Esq.; W. C. Sargeaunt, Esq., Hon. Treasurer; C. W. Eddy, Esq., Hon. Secretary; &c., &c.

The Minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.

The President then nominated Mr. Gisborne Molineux and Mr. Labilli  re, Scrutineers, to take the Ballot for the Council and other Officers of the Institute for the ensuing year.

The following Report of the Council was then read :—

The Council are happy to report that the Institute has made satisfactory progress during the past year.

The Financial Statement, which will be laid before the Meeting, shows it to be in a sound position, £300 having during the year been invested in Colonial Securities, making a total amount of £900 so invested, and all liabilities being amply provided for.

Since the last Meeting, 101 Fellows have been elected, viz., 50 Resident, and 51 Non-resident.

The Council have taken and furnished additional rooms, and these now comprise a Reading-room, a Writing-room, a Smoking-room, and a Library. The Institute, however, is not committed to its present premises beyond this year, in case more desirable ones can be met with, the advantage of having a house of its own being kept constantly in view.

The Council have in the course of the year lent their aid in the promotion of various objects of Imperial interest, amongst which may be mentioned the Dinner in celebration of the completion of

Telegraphic Communication with the Australian Colonies, of which celebration they have published an account.

The Society of Arts have again during the present session obligingly lent their theatre for the meetings of the Institute.

The remaining transactions of 1871, and those of 1872, have been printed and circulated, and those of the present year are in type, and will soon be ready for issue. They will comprise a paper by Lord Bury on the San Juan Boundary; one by Mr. Bourinot, of the Senate, Ottawa, on the Marine and Fisheries of Canada; one by Mr. William Walker, on the Social and Economic Position and Prospects of the British West India Possessions; one by Mr. Hugh Munro Hull, Clerk of the Tasmanian Parliament, on Tasmania, and its wealth in Timber; one by Mr. J. E. Calder, of Tasmania, on the Forests of Tasmania; one by Mr. H. E. Watts, on the Three New Rules of the Washington Treaty as affecting our relations with our Colonies; and one by Captain J. C. R. Colomb, on the Defence of the Colonies; together with Records of the Inaugural Dinner of the Session and of the Annual Dinner,\* and a list of the Fellows.

Large Donations to the Library of Books, Maps, Pamphlets, Papers, and Specimens of Colonial Produce have been made, and the Council have to record their obligations to the donors, among whom were the following:—His Grace the Duke of Manchester; the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies; the Right Hon. Lord Alfred S. Churchill; Major-General Millington Synge, R.E.; Sir Charles Nicholson, Bart.; Gisborne Molineux, Esq.; Henry Wellings, Esq.; Captain Wyatt; Colonel T. St. L. Alcock; Messrs. Gilbert and Rivington; A. Rivington, Esq.; C. W. Eddy, Esq.; William White, Esq., of the General Post Office of Canada; R. Grant Haliburton, Esq., of Nova Scotia; William Clare Taylor, Esq.; Dr. A. M. Brown, of Sydney, N.S.W.; J. G. Hargraves, Esq.; John Robinson, Esq., M.L.C., of Natal; Fennings Taylor, Esq., of Ottawa; Robert Ker, Esq., of British Columbia; Hon. J. C. Chase, M.L.C., Cape Town; Hugh Jamieson, Esq.; Hugh M. Hull, Esq., Clerk of the Parliament, Tasmania; Cornelius Thorne, Esq.; J. V. H. Irwin, Esq.; Felix Bedingfield, Esq., C.M.G.; J. H. Charnock, Esq., of Quebec; Arthur Mills, Esq.; Henry Poole, Esq., of Nova Scotia; J. G. Bourinot, Clerk to the Senate, Ottawa; Captain Hoseason, R.N.; G. P. Moodie, Esq., of Transvaal; H. E. Montgomerie, Esq.; A. Hetherington, Esq., of Nova Scotia; Captain J. C. R. Colomb, R.M.A.; William Walker, Esq.; William Dixon,

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\* The Annual Dinner was unavoidably postponed.

Esq. ; Henry Sewell, Esq. ; J. Roland Hett, Esq., Clerk of the Parliament, British Columbia ; F. P. Labilli  re, Esq. ; the Royal United Service Institution ; the East India Association ; the Philosophical Society of South Australia ; the Canada Company ; the Canadian Institute ; the Governments of the Dominion of Canada, Ontario, Nova Scotia, British Columbia, South Australia, New South Wales, New Zealand, and Tasmania ; the Agent General for British Columbia, Queensland, New South Wales, South Australia, and New Zealand. Also files of papers from Messrs. Silver ; from the proprietors of *Home News*, *Broad Arrow*, *European Mail*, *London Colonial, Argus and Australasian*, *Sydney Morning Herald*, *The Town and Country (Melbourne paper)*, *Hobart Town Mercury*, *Natal Mercury*, *Toronto Mail*, *Volunteer Review (Ottawa)*, *Nassau Times*, *Labour News*, &c., &c.

In closing this brief record of the proceedings of the Institute, the Council must refer with the greatest satisfaction to recent official expressions to the effect that it is a subject of congratulation that at present there is no question of importance to evoke ill-feeling in any of the Colonies, and that, in all forms of prosperity and material progress, the British Colonies may compare favourably with any portion of the world. And the Council feel that they may fairly claim for the Royal Colonial Institute some share of the undoubtedly improved feeling towards our Colonial Empire lately evinced in many quarters.

Mr. F. P. LABILLI  RE called attention to the selection of Papers read during the session. Two Papers read had related to Tasmania, and three evenings out of the five at their disposal had been devoted to the same question—the Washington Treaty. The Papers were all admirable, but it would have been much better had they been all read together and the discussion upon them taken at one time. The course of the session should have room for the consideration of questions affecting other Colonies. At the beginning of the session a programme of Papers was brought forward, and he did not know why that programme had been abandoned, for only two of the Papers had been read. There were some very important Papers upon the other Colonies ; for instance, there was one on Queensland, one on the Land Laws of Victoria, and one on the Straits Settlements, which would have given greater variety to the discussions of the Institute had they not been omitted. He might mention that his name had been down, but he had not been favoured with any communication as to why his Paper had not been taken. It would have been very important during this session that the Australian Colonies should have had more attention

given to them. The South African Colonies, too, had been perfectly neglected, although during the course of the year some most important questions had been under discussion with respect to South Africa.

The PRESIDENT said that want of time rendered it difficult to select each Paper. As to the Papers more or less relating to the Washington Treaty, they had been read at intervals, and the discussion was certainly more or less a repetition. There were, however, only two discussions, as one of the Papers had not been followed by any. With regard to the Australian Colonies having been neglected, there were two Papers read on Tasmania, which might be taken as a part of Australia. It was only want of time and not from want of any intention, that Mr. Labilli  re or any one else had been neglected. He hoped in the future session that they would have more time. Very little time was at their disposal, from the practice of the Council and friends dining before the meeting, in consequence, by the time the Papers were read it was very late.

Mr. EDDY explained that as to the Paper entitled the Land Laws of Victoria, it was found that it would excite such strong feelings that it was deemed inexpedient to read it; the Paper on Queensland could not be given, because the author was too much occupied with the Vienna Exhibition to prepare it; and the Paper on the Straits Settlements was not ready in time.

Mr. F. YOUNG was much obliged to Mr. Labilli  re for thus calling attention to this matter. The question relative to the Washington Treaty seemed to have absorbed their principal attention during the past session. This subject was one that the Council should take into serious consideration. But few Papers had been read on the various Colonies comprising the British Empire. They should not have Papers on one Colony to the exclusion of the others. If they had only six, seven, or eight evenings, they should be devoted to different Papers, and they should try to adjust them so that they might bear on all the various Colonies throughout the British Empire.

Mr. A. B. ABRAHAM thought that the matter did not rest so much with the Council as with the individual members of the Institute. Members should make a point of getting their Papers ready early, so as to enable their excellent Secretary to make arrangements. Every member of the Institute should now set to work between this and the next session to prepare a Paper on some suitable subject.

Colonel ALCOCK.—My Lord Duke,—As the subject now under discussion is that of the papers which have been, or are to be, read,

I hope that I shall not be out of order if I remark that there is one special subject with which no other Society is so competent to deal as this Institute, and that from its varied sources of Colonial information from every part of the world—I allude to the means by which the interests and the rights of barbarous or uncivilised people are to be reconciled with the progress of civilisation and the movement of commercial enterprise.

We are, and we always must be, in contact with such people—civilisation encroaching upon the uncivilised—and cultivation advancing upon their lands. Some particulars of this were brought out in a discussion in this house, and every one present must have felt both the difficulty and the importance of the subject. Now nothing can be more evident than that Missionary labour will continue to be energetic and enterprising; the same may be said of commercial speculation; with the desire for land or for labour, and the possibility of a rush to a gold-producing locality, while no provision is made for such events. In New Guinea for instance, there is no provision against a recurrence of the horrors of the kidnapping trade or of disturbances on the subject of land.

It appears to me that our Imperial duties should be seen from the "Manifest destiny" point of view, that is, of accepting the responsibility of a great and a wealthy nation with great interests as well as responsibilities in every part of the world; but it is generally supposed that our policy is that of shrinking from every responsibility which may entail expense, and by a sort of retributive justice drawing upon ourselves, in the sequel, far greater expenses than the legitimate expense which, by a false economy, we are constantly trying to avoid. The Ashantee war, upon which there was a remarkable discussion only a few days ago at the United Service Institution, the result of the economical system was manifest enough. With respect to Fiji and the Islands in the South Pacific, the Government will have to do at last what they should have done at first. At the meetings of this Institute, gentlemen assemble from every Colony with a knowledge of the wants and feelings of the people, the progressive steps that are being made, and able to interchange ideas upon the subject of what may be expected, of what has, and of what may be done. The discussion to which I have already alluded, which took place here only a few days ago, on the South Eastern Peninsula of New Guinea, is an example of this, and I trust that some gentlemen will agree with me in the opinion that the condition of barbarous or semi-barbarous races, with whom we are always in contact, is a subject which comes in a very peculiar manner within the

sphere of the Royal Colonial Institute, as it is one which affects the honour of our flag, of our character as a Christian people, and of the safety of those who look for protection from a country which has, like ourselves, such ample means of effecting it at command.

Mr. LEONARD WRAY thought that the subject of the South-Eastern Peninsula of New Guinea came exactly into the same category as that of the Fiji Islands. Nothing would stop the interests of commerce. The discovery of gold would bring about the same effect that it had done in other places.

Mr. G. R. GODSON thought that the reading of the Papers was a subject for the Council. As to the item in the accounts relating to newspaper subscriptions, he thought that papers should not be paid for, especially as they received papers from the Colonies gratuitously. He also considered the rent of the rooms of the Institute high.

Mr. EDDY said that they had not been able to find suitable premises cheaper than those they now occupied. As to the newspaper subscription, they were obliged to purchase *The Times*, and occasionally numbers of other papers; he was not aware that there was any standing rule against such subscriptions; in England newspapers must be paid for.

Mr. EDWARD WILSON approved of members freely expressing their opinions at these meetings. It was only once a year that Fellows could do so. The Council did not, he was convinced, wish to stop anyone from expressing his opinion; at the ordinary meeting when a paper had to be read the discussion was confined to that. What Colonel Alcock had said was most important. Their Colonial Empire was touching uncivilised nations at all points. The relation between civilisation and barbarism was a very large question, not to be discussed at the present meeting, but it would form an interesting topic for the Society in its general action. They knew America maintained the Monro doctrine, and it stood to reason that their empire in Australia would not look upon lands like those of New Guinea, which really belonged to them, and let them remain a waste and a terror to the world—a terror so far as this, that a vessel wrecked on these coasts looked to have every creature on board murdered. Their relations with those countries must form an interesting topic. The great object of the Society had been to bring England and the Colonies together. Even on the score of humanity, if they did not occupy those lands, the worst ruffians in the world would go there and commit excesses such as had been committed in Fiji. Slavery, too, would be established

there. The simplest remedy was to occupy those islands and so bring them into proper subjection.

Mr. GODSON referred to the suggested appointment of honorary secretaries of the Society in the different Colonies, so as to work for the interests of the Society in each. Mr. KER, of British Columbia, had been put forward, and he (the speaker) did not understand why his name had not been mentioned in the report, and the thanks of the Society given him for his trouble and kindness.

Mr. EDDY replied that Mr. KER had offered to be a corresponding secretary, and had been thanked for his offer by letter. Some little discussion on this subject resulted in the thanks of the meeting being voted unanimously to Mr. KER.

Mr. GODSON thought it would be very hard to get a man of influence, without politics, who would not have as many enemies as friends. They should get a man in the Colonies independent of local politics, and back him up with a local committee. These might meet monthly in order to transact any business requisite. The Secretary would be responsible for subscriptions. He, the speaker, knew of some who had never paid, not knowing how to do so. The trouble of sending to England prevented them.

Mr. H. E. MONTGOMERIE said the matter had been fully discussed by the Council. It would be far better to have a single corresponding secretary than to have local committees.

Mr. EDDY said that the Post Office Order system was now so widely established that it was the simplest thing possible to remit money to this country from any Colony.

Mr. W. C. SARGEANT then submitted his annual statement, with accounts of the finances of the Institute.

The Report of the Council and the hon. Treasurer's financial statement were unanimously adopted.

Captain J. C. R. COLOMB, R.M.A., then read the following Paper :—

#### ON COLONIAL DEFENCE.

My Lord Duke and Gentlemen,—Though this subject has direct reference to the Colonies, it is necessary to observe that "Colonial Defence" cannot be considered as an abstract question, any more than that "National Defence" can be limited in its meaning to the defence of the United Kingdom. The full force of this assertion is not, however, generally understood.

When we get frightened on the subject of what is falsely termed "Our National Safety," but one idea is prevalent in the minds of

nine people out of ten, to the exclusion of all other considerations ; it is this :—guarding the soil of the British Islands against invasion.

In time of profound peace we like to talk of “our vast Colonial Empire, our extended commerce, and interests in every part of the globe.” It sounds big and grand, and, perhaps, some vainly imagine that big swelling words must frighten away aggression ; but when danger, real or supposed, threatens, and the nation is alarmed, we habitually forget that “England with her colonies is still a giant amongst nations, and that without them she would be a dwarf,”\* and exhibit practically our disbelief in the “giant” by seeking refuge in the “arms of the dwarf.”

Look back a few years, and by past events test the truth of this assertion. Take the panic of 1859 and its results. We were in a state of wild alarm. We imagined that France threatened our safety, nay, our existence. We took fright at her successful armies, and her powerful fleets, capable of transporting those armies. We steadfastly shut our eyes to the fact that the possibility of the invasion of England involves, as a natural consequence, the possibility of investment, the cutting of the Imperial lines of communication, and attacks upon “our vast Colonial Empire, our extended commerce, and interests in every quarter of the globe ;” we, in short, forgot everything except our personal safety, and instead of taking measures for defending the Empire, we were satisfied with taking measures for defending the hedge-rows of England.

Again, we owe change in our military system to the last panic. We are told by the Government of the day that England (the dwarf) is now better prepared to resist an attempted invasion than during any past period of her history. How has this result been attained ? By rendering her Colonies and possessions (which swell the dwarf into the giant) less capable of resisting attack. The military policy has been to disarm the giant in order to arm the dwarf.

I must, however, here observe that I do not argue against the pressing necessity which existed for defending the Imperial base of operations by withdrawing the insufficient garrisons formerly maintained in the colonial outposts ; on the contrary, I was one of the first to advocate the withdrawal of the few regular troops quartered in certain colonies and possessions,† as a necessary part of a

\* *Vide* Sir E. Sullivan on “Our Economic Catas.”

† For the purpose of concentrating them at certain strategic and Imperial positions.

scheme of Imperial defence ; but that scheme did not propose to leave the question of the defence of our Colonies and possessions in the air, as has been done. What appears objectionable in the military policy pursued is, that it has been confined to the narrow limits of the defence of the Imperial base, to the exclusion of all considerations for the safety of our Imperial communications, the security of our Colonies, and the maintenance of our power in distant possessions.

I therefore venture to assert that before these troops were withdrawn, before the question of military re-organisation was practically dealt with, it was the duty of statesmen to cast their eyes beyond the shores of "Happy England," to look beyond the "streak of silver sea," and to face this truth, viz., that the security of the United Kingdom against invasion is but a part of the great question of "National Defence." It is now nearly five years since, at the Royal United Service Institution,† I endeavoured to draw attention to this fact, in these words :—"The defence of the United Kingdom against invasion is an object of primary importance, but to suppose that this is the one thing needful in the matter of national defence, is a grievous error. We are bound to look to the general welfare of the Empire. The sources of our greatness are the possession of India, and our commercial prosperity. Our commercial prosperity is in direct proportion to the freedom with which we can carry on trade with our Colonies and other countries. Commerce is in fact the link that binds together the several interests of the scattered territories comprising the Empire. . . . Bearing this in mind, let us suppose that the view which limits national defence to the protection of Great Britain and Ireland against invasion be practically adopted, and that the whole resources of the country have been wholly and exclusively directed to rendering the *soil* of the British Isles secure, and that this object has been fully attained, what would our position be in time of aggressive war on the part of one or more great powers? Does it not stand to reason that, as the object of all aggressive war is either to acquire territory, or to weaken, if not destroy, the power of the nation against which war is made, the easiest and the safest mode is adopted to carry out these objects : under the circumstances we have supposed, therefore, an enemy would naturally confine his efforts to destroying our commerce and our power in India, leaving the British Isles to watch his proceeding with impotent dismay."

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\* "Lectures on the Distribution of our War Forces," 1869.

If the heart and citadel of the Empire is alone protected, will it "surprise us to hear" that, when the Empire is attacked, our enemy prefers cutting our unprotected communications and appropriating our undefended colonies and possessions, to a direct assault upon a "small island bristling with bayonets?"

In the celebrated article in the *Edinburgh Review* it is written:—"Steam applied to navigation has done at least as much for a defending as for an invading Power; even the stores of coals needed for marine locomotion are principally ours; and while by the aid of this powerful agent the ships of both nations may scour the coasts with favourable weather at from twelve to fifteen or sixteen miles an hour, the railways which gird the land, to say nothing of the telegraphs, may in all weathers carry the armies which are to guard it and their *materiel* from point to point at twenty, thirty, or forty." \*

Now these are the utterances of a master mind, but it is passing strange that it never seems to have occurred to the writer that we cannot limit the field of operations of an opposing fleet. If our enemy's fleets can scour the coasts of "Happy England" at from twelve to fifteen or sixteen miles an hour, they can scour the coasts of "Unhappy Colonies and Possessions" at the same rate, where their operations will not be hampered by the presence of any army at all. Even the stores of coal needed for marine locomotion, "though principally ours," are conveniently situated at commanding points along the Imperial roads, and by being for the most part totally neglected and undefended, afford a guarantee that the enemy's fleets shall not be inconvenienced by want of fuel in a raid upon "our vast Colonial Empire, our extended commerce, and interests in *any* part of the globe."

It is said that a certain bird when hard pressed in its flight buries its head in the sand, and finds imaginary security because it ceases to see the near approach of danger; and the present policy pursued by this country in the matter of defence appears to me to be somewhat analogous. Our Imperial Eagle, whose wings cover the seas, buries her head in the sands of the defended shores of England, and blinding her vision of danger with a few men, guns, volunteer reviews, and autumn manœuvres, her statesmen bid her believe that she is safe!

This is one side of the picture; let us glance briefly at the other. It is not many years ago since our defensive measures were based upon an exactly opposite principle, and one equally dangerous to

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\* "Germany, France, and England." *Edinburgh Review*, 1870.

the safety of our Empire. Our armies and our fleets were scattered indiscriminately over the face of the globe, while the United Kingdom (the Imperial base of operations) was left destitute of any power of resistance. All our war force was exhausted on means for the direct defence of our Colonies and distant possessions, to the exclusion of all considerations relative to the security of the Imperial base.

The defenceless state of the British Islands at the time of which I speak, can best be pictured by recalling the concluding words of the celebrated letter of the Duke of Wellington, in which he showed the ease with which these islands could be carried by assault: "I am bordering on seventy-seven years passed in honour. I hope that the Almighty may protect me from being a witness of the tragedy, which I cannot persuade my contemporaries to take measures to avert." We were then as oblivious to the truth that the capture of the citadel involved the downfall of the Empire as we are now blind to the fact that the security of that citadel is no guarantee for the safety of *twentynine-thirtieths* of British territory, or for the protection of the lives and properties of *four-fifths* of Her Majesty's subjects.\*

In avoiding Scylla we have encountered Charybdis. Where, then, is the true channel through which the Empire may safely pass, defying attack? Many may think, with the Government of the day, that this question may be solved by saying to our Colonies and possessions—Arm yourselves; it is every man's duty to defend his hearth and home. Do as we have done in England, raise volunteers, create what military forces you please, do as we have done, and our Empire is safe! Now, let us consider whether this be a true solution of the problem. In the first place, it is not possible to lay down a general rule of self-reliance and self-defence applicable to all Colonies and possessions alike. The power of resistance of each fragment of the Empire can only be measured by a comparison between its population, its geographical position, and natural defensive advantages, and those of its possible enemy. It is simply ridiculous to tell any one of our West Indian islands to be self-reliant, and to trust to its citizens to resist the war power of the United States. If this general rule is the basis of our plan of Imperial defence, and is to be applied, it means in plain English that in the unhappy event of a rupture with America, we offer that nation peaceable and quiet possession of 100,000 square

\* The area of the United Kingdom is about one-thirtieth of the total area of the British Empire, and the population less than one-fifth.

miles of territory, and make over the lives and properties of 1½ millions of British subjects !

I fear it would not be difficult to find what are termed “ advanced thinkers ” in the country—nay, in Parliament, and seated on Government benches—who would not think this a very great national calamity. Possibly such persons might argue that the United States would allow the money value of these territories as a set-off in the final balance-sheet of American claims of indemnity for expenses caused by war. It is therefore necessary to observe that the loss of the West Indies affects the safety of Canada. First, by increasing the resources of the United States; secondly, by securing to that power the command of the Western Atlantic—thus rendering it impossible for Imperial forces to create a diversion in favour of Canada, in the hour of trial, by blockade and attack on the southern and eastern shores of America.

It follows, therefore, that the general and indiscriminate application of the policy of fragmentary self-reliance and self-defence, though possible to Canada as a direct means of frontier defence—besides involving the loss of other possessions—is the most certain method of ensuring she shall be left in her struggle unaided and alone.

Similar arguments apply with equal force to other Colonies and possessions elsewhere ; but as it is impossible to deal with this great question in a short paper, I think I have said enough to show that this general rule of “ self-reliance ” fails to solve the problem of Imperial defence. The question, therefore, remains—What are the general principles on which the defence of the Empire must be based ?

Before we can give a reply worthy of the name, it is essential that we should understand what is the Empire, and what is vital to its existence. Speaking generally of its geographical position, it consists of ten groups of territory separated by long sea distances. The British Islands, British North America, the West Indies, the West Coast of Africa, the Cape, the Mauritius, Australasia, Hong Kong, the Straits' Settlements, and India.

This is a rough sketch of the ground to be defended. Now to quote from a work by Sir C. Pasley, written in 1808.\* “ The strength of an empire composed of several islands or possessions, divided from each other by the sea, will be further modified by the geographical position of its respective parts. The strength of an

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\* “ *The Military Policy and Institutions of the British Empire.* ”

empire of any kind, whether insular or continental, will be greater or less, with equal resources, in proportion to the facility with which its several parts can afford each other mutual assistance when attacked, and to the difficulty which an enemy may find in supplying and supporting his invading force."

This able exposition of a great military truth brings to light two great principles:—

1. That it is of vital importance that the safety of the Imperial communications be secured.

2. That it is essential to the military strength of the Empire that forces created or existing for the defence of one portion be not so constituted as to preclude the possibility of using them in the defence of another.

If the Imperial communications are not secured, our enemy can make it *physically* impossible for the several parts to afford "mutual assistance when attacked." On the other hand, although they may be tolerably safe, if the military forces of each part are by law so constituted as to preclude the power of moving them to another, we ourselves render it a *moral* impossibility for the several parts to afford "mutual assistance when attacked." In the one case the enemy cripples the necessary power of concentration; in the other we save him the trouble by doing it ourselves. What then becomes of the military value of forces constituted as our militia and volunteers are, at home or in the Colonies, when weighed in the Imperial scales?

If the Empire is to be defended at all we must apply, on a large scale, the ordinary and common military principle applicable to the defence of all territory, large or small.

The fundamental principle is briefly this: The success of all operations of war, whether defensive or offensive, depends upon the disposition of force in such a manner as will best secure the base of operations, and ensure safety and freedom of communication. It is useless to do one without the other, for in the one case neglect of the rule must lead to a "lock-out," in the other the "lock-up" of military force. Our former disposition of our force risked the "lock-out" of military force by rendering the capture of the base possible: our present plan endangers, nay courts, the "lock-up" of military force at the base by leaving our communications exposed, and our outposts undefended.

In the late war we saw first of all an attack upon the advanced positions on the lines of communication; next the cutting of the lines of communication; and lastly, as an inevitable consequence, Paris fell.

The United Kingdom is our Imperial base. The Imperial main lines of communication are:—

1. To British North America across the North Atlantic.
2. To the West Indies.
3. To India, China, and Australasia by the Mediterranean.
4. To India, China, and Australasia round the Cape.
5. From Australasia and the Pacific round Cape Horn.

The Imperial base can be reduced in two ways:—

1. By direct assault: invasion.
2. By indirect means: investment.

It is curious—I trust I may be forgiven for saying it—that while the possibility of invasion is not generally disputed, I believe I happen to be the only individual who believes in investment; at least I know of no other who has for eight years tried to force on public attention the fact that the certainty of investment, partial or complete, follows the *possibility* of invasion as surely as night follows day.

Consider for one moment on what the presumption of possible invasion rests. It rests on this—the loss, temporary or permanent, of the command of the waters surrounding the British Islands. But remember that the lines of communication *all* radiate from these waters; the loss, therefore, of our command *here* cuts every one of the Imperial lines; and what is this *but* investment?

The statesman who could, in a magazine, speak complacently of an opposing force “scouring our coasts at twelve, fifteen, or sixteen miles an hour,” must surely have forgotten that the heart of the Empire thus cut off from its sources of supply must cease to beat. Hardly a mile could be so traversed in triumphant defiance without injury, in a greater or less degree, to some artery or nerve, producing in some far-off member of the body politic of Empire results more or less disastrous. It might be but a nervous tremor produced by a temporary disarrangement of the free course of trade, or it might be paralysis caused by a prolonged interruption of the vital power of communication. The question of results is but a question of time.

As regards the safety of communications, it must be borne in mind that the greatest danger to which they can be exposed is that which threatens the greatest number at one and the same time. Geographically speaking, this can only happen at the point of convergence or radiation, which in our case is the Channel.

The Royal Commission of 1859 discarded the Channel Fleet as a first line of defence against invasion, because “Were an undue

proportion of our fleet tied to the Channel," our enemy's "would be proportionably set free, to the great danger of our Colonies and to the injury of a commerce which becomes of more vital importance with every step of national progress." But I desire to observe that, though it may not be our first line of defence against invasion, it is our first line of defence against investment, and, further, the front of our first line of Colonial defence. Of what avail is it if our Colonies, though protected in their own immediate neighbourhood, are "locked out" from the mother country by a force in the Channel, against which we are unable to contend? Of what use is it protecting our commerce on distant seas if it is to be destroyed within sight of the shores of England? Surely, in reckoning up our means of defence, we should not forget that if our enemy confines his operations to an attack on our communications, and we are unprepared to resist it, the forces we have created for the special purpose of repelling invasion will be after all but a harmless host of spectators of a ruin they are powerless to avert.

I do not for a moment underrate the immense importance and absolute necessity of being prepared to render invasion impossible by purely military forces. If we are not so prepared we stake the fate of the Empire on, perhaps, a single naval engagement. A temporary reverse at sea might (by the enemy following up his advantage) be converted into final defeat on land, resulting in a total overthrow of all further power of resistance. It is necessary for the *safety of the Channel* that invasion be efficiently guarded against, so that should our home fleet be temporarily disabled we may, under cover of our army, prepare and strengthen it to regain lost ground, and renew the struggle for that which is essential to our life as a nation, and our existence as an empire—the command of the waters of the United Kingdom.

We are all so keenly alive to the necessity of rendering invasion impossible, that this part of the subject may now be dismissed. I may also pass from the front of the first line of Colonial defence with the remark, that the fleet required to maintain it must not be confused nor mixed up with the cruising force necessary for the safety of the distant lines of communication. To hold our supremacy of the Channel we require a force composed of vessels adapted to the combined action of fleets, and of a strength equal to that which may possibly be brought against it. This remark also applies to the protection of the line of communication passing through the Mediterranean. But on more distant seas, for the protection of such lines, a special class of cruisers, capable of keeping at sea for long periods of time, is required; the strength of this patrolling

force on each line being in proportion to the value of the line, and to the force against which it may have to contend. The fleets necessary for the safety of the Channel and Mediterranean are not adapted to the protection of distant lines, nor are the vessels suited to the defence of those lines of any value as a reserve force to be called in to aid in the defence of the Channel and Mediterranean.

But the defence of our communications is not secured by the mere presence of sufficient naval force at home or in the Mediterranean; for as there are two modes of attack on the United Kingdom, so there are two ways in which our lines of communication may be destroyed—1st. By direct attack on the point of convergence. 2nd. By a variety of attacks on one or more lines at points far removed from the place where they all meet. Assuming provision for meeting the first to have been made, I will now deal with the means to be adopted to meet this other mode of attack; and this is the most interesting portion of my subject.

Communications, whether sea or land, whether long or short, *can only be secured by a firm grasp of the points which command them.* The greater the extent of the line, the greater is the number of defended points necessary for its safety. In order to cut a line of communication, the first thing to be done is to seize the point which commands it, and in defending a line the point which commands it is the last to surrender. Such points are the minor bases of operation of forces acting in defence of the line. The relative importance of such points to the line, and to each other, can only be estimated by the circumstances of their geographical position and their distance from the main base from which the line springs.

There is this difference, however, between the defence of sea as compared with land communications. Naturally in the second, a purely military force only is required, but in the case of sea lines the employment of a purely military as well as a purely naval force is necessary. The navy furnishes the patrolling or skirmishing force, while the army secures to it its bases or arsenals. To leave the naval force responsible for the protection of its base would be to tie its hands. It would be “using the fleet to maintain its arsenals, instead of the arsenals to maintain the fleet.”\* Some years ago a governor of an eastern Colony proposed to leave such places almost exclusively to naval protection, and the late Sir John Burgoyne thus speaks of the value of the proposition: “Under the system proposed, a small squadron, with 3,000 or 4,000 troops in eastern seas in time of war, would take the Mauritius and Hong

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\* Vide Defence Commission Report, 1859.

Kong, and destroy the naval arsenal and means at Trincomalee, if it did not capture the whole island of Ceylon."\*

The force thus alluded to might be Russian or that of some other power. In any case, how would the loss of Ceylon affect our military position in India? Is it likely that aggression would stop there? Might it not gather strength, and might not Ceylon be a convenient base of operation for an attack on Australasia? If, therefore, we trust the protection of our lines exclusively to a purely naval force, by imposing on our fleets the defence of the points which command them, we risk, nay we court a general attack, not on England, not on the Channel, but on "our vast Colonial Empire, our extended commerce, and interest in every quarter of the globe."

It is now time to ask what are these points? and, in an attempt to reply, I will take each line separately:—

1. The line to Canada. The only point here is a terminal one—it is Halifax.

2. To the West Indies. Here we have Bermuda, the Bahamas, Jamaica and Antigua. The strategic value of Bermuda is in some degree understood. The military value of the Bahamas was fixed by Sir John Burgoyne.† Jamaica, from its central position and capacious harbour, is of considerable importance. I add Antigua for two reasons—(1) because Jamaica is far too leeward to be of value as a coaling station or arsenal for cruisers acting in the defence of communications to the Eastern Islands; such vessels would burn a great quantity of fuel in steaming up to their station from Jamaica against the trades; (2) vessels bound for the greater Antilles and Gulf of Mexico generally pass between Antigua and Guadalupe.

3. To India, the East, and Australasia, by the Mediterranean. The points here are Gibraltar, Malta, Aden, Bombay, Cape Comorin,‡ and King George's Sound on the main line, with Trincomalee, Singapore, and Hong Kong on its northern branch.

Of all the Imperial roads this is the most difficult to defend, owing to its want of continuity. The most commanding position—the Isthmus of Suez—is not in our possession. Here our line can be most easily cut, and here we have least power to prevent the

\* See Appendix to "Life of Field Marshal Sir J. Burgoyne."

† Ibid.

‡ Although there is not now any harbour of importance at Cape Comorin, those who have read the paper on "Indian Harbours" by General Sir A. Cotton, will understand the strategical importance of the position, and the possibility of creating a harbour at "Colachul" in its vicinity.

contingency. So long as the canal is neutral or in the hands of a neutral power, so long is it at the disposal of friend and foe alike. Were it in the hands of our enemies, it is only open to them and not to us. To make this line safe, the occupation by military force of the Isthmus might, under certain conditions, be a necessity. Are we prepared for that?

Supposing it to be neutral, it must be remembered that if purely naval power cannot be entirely relied on for the local protection of our outposts, neither can it be relied on to prevent the entry into the Nile of vessels of our enemy, and once there they would have the whole of our Eastern possessions at their mercy, unless we have a force sufficient to blockade the Red Sea. But as the necessity for the existence of such a force rests on the possibility of our direct communications being cut somewhere between the Red Sea and the English Channel, it is important to consider how our fleets in the East could exist, without adequate means of supply and repair, independent of our home resources.

Such considerations as these point to the absolute necessity of having a commanding and strongly-defended great naval arsenal in the Eastern hemisphere. Here we might have ships and stores in reserve; here should be the great base of naval operations in peace and war for all our Eastern fleets. Is it safe to assume that the resources of Portsmouth, Chatham, and Plymouth would be equal to the task of supplying our war fleets throughout the world at such time with ships, stores, and means of repair? Can we dream of private firms during maritime war, taking contracts to maintain, in a state of efficiency, war fleets 6,000 and 10,000 miles off?

With the development of the resources of India, Australia, New Zealand, and a host of smaller possessions, the necessity for securing their roads increases; so also increase the power of providing and supporting adequate means of defence.\* With a Russian sea-board on the one hand, and an American sea-board on the other, it cannot be said that by their remoteness from us they are removed from danger of attack: nor must it be forgotten that the very fact of their distance from us adds to our difficulties in defending them, unless by a judicious combination of Imperial resources—to which India should contribute a large proportion—we render the fleets for their defence independent to a large extent of home support.

If naval protection without military protection be productive of danger to the Empire, great disaster may also be expected to result

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\* The total value of exports and imports of India, Ceylon, and Australasia is about four-fifths of the total value of exports and imports of the United States.

from attempting to hold distant possessions by military force, if that force might be completely isolated and locked out from its sources of supply and reserves for want of the naval protection of its communication with the Imperial base. If it be asked what we have done to guard against the possible isolation of our army in India ? the reply is, we have abolished the Indian navy and substituted nothing in its place ! Though India supports the army necessary for its safety, it contributes nothing\* towards a fleet for the protection and security of the communications of the army, without which it cannot exist.

Two circumstances have lately occurred to threaten our command of this direct route—the opening of the Suez Canal, and the removal of the restrictions placed upon Russian power in the Euxine. We agreed to the latter on *moral* grounds. But if on moral grounds we have practically shown our sympathy with the desire of Russia to accumulate physical force in the Black Sea, we should extend our sympathy to India and our Eastern Colonies, and be careful that it takes an equally practical form, by the creation of a naval arsenal adapted to the probable requirement of the defence of their communications: thus balancing the power of resistance with the increased power of aggression which our “moral sympathy” has so generously provided.

To attempt to determine the exact site for such a reserve naval arsenal for the Eastern portion of the Empire would be beyond the scope of this paper, but considerations respecting climate, and its effects on stores, &c., point to some port of Australia as best adapted for the purpose. The strategic importance of Bombay, however, cannot be overlooked. It must be borne in mind that the appliances, such as docks and machinery for repairs, &c., would be available for our commercial fleets in peace; and hence that Imperial resources expended to provide for the contingency of war, could not be regarded as money thrown away in peace.

4th line: To India and the East, and Australasia, round the Cape. Here the points are Sierra Leone, Ascension, St. Helena, Simon's Bay, the Mauritius, and King George's Sound.

5th line: From Australasia and Vancouver's Island, round Cape Horn. Here we have Sierra Leone, Ascension, the Falkland Islands, and Sydney. These points are, however, valueless for the defence of the line between Vancouver's Island and Australia, but a commanding position for this part of the line has been offered to

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\* The contribution of £31,627 per annum from the Indian Government, on account of the expense of a fleet on Indian stations, is practically nothing.

the Government—the Fiji Islands. It remains to be seen whether the Government accepts the offer. It is a position of great importance from an Imperial strategic point of view. The Hydrographer of the Admiralty thus speaks of it : “The Fijis lie nearly in the direct track from Panama to Sydney, and if a steamer touched at one of them for coal she would only lengthen her voyage about 320 miles, or one day's run, in a distance of 8,000 miles. In like manner, in the voyage from Vancouver's Island to Sydney, the touching at Fiji would lengthen the distance 420 miles in a voyage of 7,000. An intermediate station between Panama and Sydney will be most desirable—indeed, if the proposed mail route be carried out it is indispensable. In the above statement I have confined myself to answering questions referred to me by the Colonial Office ; but, on looking into the subject, I have been much struck by the entire want of Great Britain of any advanced position in the Pacific Ocean. We have valuable possessions on either side, as at Vancouver's Island and Sydney, but not an islet or a rock in the 7,000 miles that separate them. We have no island on which to place a coaling station, and where we could ensure fresh supplies.”

A comparison between the value of our property passing and repassing in the vicinity of these islands with that of other nations, will show that we have a vastly greater interest in maintaining freedom of communications in that district than any other power. It therefore follows that the military value of the position to any other maritime power is greater when regarded as a means of aggression than as necessary for purposes of defence. But to us its possession is vital as a rallying-point of defence, though of small value as a base for offensive operation. On the principle, therefore, of “defence not defiance” the military arguments for the annexation of the Fijis should meet with the approval of the Government.

This very hasty sketch of the ground to be defended must necessarily be subject to modification and alteration on more accurate and minute survey. It must be regarded only at present as an attempt to apply general principles to the Empire as a whole.

In the selection of the points the following conditions should be fulfilled—1. They must be in our possession, and on or near a line of communication. 2. They should possess natural advantages, such as safe and commodious shelter for the war and commercial fleets, easy of access, and capable of defence. 3. They should be as far as possible the natural rendezvous at all times of vessels

passing and repassing along the line, and the chief, if not the only, coaling station of the district they command.

Too much attention cannot be paid to the selection of the coaling stations of the Empire. They should be under our control. Take for example the West Indies. The great coaling station in that district—St. Thomas—is not in our possession. The consequence is, that were we engaged in hostilities in that quarter, a large portion of our force would be necessarily employed in the blockade—so far as our enemy is concerned—of this point, and would be so much deducted from the force available and required for other purposes.

It is possible at first sight Sierra Leone and Ascension may not appear to be of Imperial value, or to fulfil these conditions. It is therefore necessary to draw attention to the fact that the Imperial roads round the Cape and round Cape Horn cross each other at a point on the Equator about 28 deg. W. If a comparatively small circle with that centre be described on a mercantile chart, it will be found to include the path of nearly all vessels passing along those roads. It therefore follows that the defence of the sea area so included is of the greatest importance to Australasia and Eastern and Pacific possessions, and that it would be useless to distribute force for the protection elsewhere of the commerce of those places unless we can command that small area. But we cannot maintain a patrol at these Imperial cross roads without bases of operation from which that force can draw supplies; we have no choice, therefore, but to adapt Sierra Leone and Ascension to the purpose of fulfilling this Imperial requirement. It is further essentially necessary for the safety of Australia and the East, that these points should not fall into other hands, and if we do not adopt measures for their defence, there is nothing to prevent such a contingency.

Now, though the Imperial strategic points I have named are numerous, I think it will be found difficult, even on close inspection, to reduce the number without risk to the safety of the Imperial lines. It must be remembered that a point near a line of communication, if not secured to our own use by means of defence, is placed more or less at the disposal of our enemy. The position we abandon, because we have others in its neighbourhood, may be of vast strategic importance to the power having none. The immense and Imperial importance of the great majority of strategic points named cannot, I think, be much doubted, and therefore for purposes of illustrating general principles require no further remark. We have seen that military garrisons are required to

prevent their capture by assault. Where are they to come from? What provision has the Empire made for the safety of positions which command her roads?

It is our boast that we are at last secured from invasion, because we have 100,000 regular troops at home. But when we are threatened with invasion, we are in imminent peril of investment. As the regular army is the only military force we can move, it clearly follows that, if 100,000 or any large proportion of that number of regular troops are necessary to guard against invasion, no force is available for garrisons of places on which the safety of our communications depends. We should have to choose, at such a time, between risking invasion or courting investment, partial or complete. When this argument is used, it is generally met by the assertion that we have, or shall have, a powerful fleet, and therefore shall command the sea. Now the "command of the sea" is a vague term, conveying no precise meaning to the mind. It is, from its vagueness, most valuable to mystify constituencies, or to confuse the conception of our true military requirements, both in times of "panic" and intervening periods of "parsimony." By war ministers it is used alternately to lull the awakened consciousness of military weakness, or as an argument for the reduction of military force. To most people it means something purely naval. To some it conveys the idea of covering the seas with numerous fleets; to others, the possession of a few ships more powerful than those of our neighbours. Few realise that the command of the sea can only be maintained by a scientific combination of three things—strategy, purely military force, and purely naval power. The command of the sea is nothing more nor less than the command of the Imperial roads, the securing of the first lines of Colonial defences.

It is important to bear in mind that the more war fleets rely on machinery and artificial motive power, the more necessary are fixed bases of operation to their action, and the greater must be the resources of those bases. Hence it is that, as the science of naval warfare advances, the necessity for developing these resources at the great strategic points, and for efficiently protecting them, will probably increase.

But "an ounce of fact is worth a pound of theory;" and while others dwell on the political results of the exploits of the *Sumter* and *Alabama*, it is desirable not to lose sight of the lesson in Imperial defence the cruise of these vessels teaches. Captain Semmes, writing on board the *Sumter*, in the West Indies, remarks: "The enemy has done us the honour to send in pursuit of

us the *Powhattan*, the *Niagara*, the *Iroquois*, the *Keystone*, and the *San Jacinto*." Not one of these vessels ever caught her, and if we read on we shall see the reason. "The Mona Passage being the regular track of U.S. commerce, it was looked upon as almost a certainty that at least one cruiser would be stationed for its protection." The supposed certainty, however, was a delusion. Months afterwards we find Captain Semmes exclaiming, "Where can all the enemy's cruisers be, that the important passages we have lately passed through are all left unguarded?" And then he sarcastically adds, "They are off, I suppose, in chase of the *Alabama*." Again he said: "The sea has its highways and byways, as well as the land. . . . If Mr. Welles had stationed a heavier and faster ship—and he had a number of both heavier and faster ships—at the crossing of the thirtieth parallel, another at or near the equator, a little to the eastward of Fernando de Noronha, and a third off Bahia, he must have driven me off, or greatly crippled me in my movements. A few ships in the other chief highways, and his commerce would have been pretty well protected. But the old gentleman does not seem to have thought of stationing a ship anywhere."\*

It is impossible that anyone carefully studying the cruise of the *Sumter* and *Alabama*, can avoid the conclusion that we have had to pay £3,200,000, not so much for letting the *Alabama* escape, but as compensation to the United States for damage directly resulting from the vague notion the head of their naval department had respecting the "command of the sea," and his utter incapacity as a sea-strategist. All the naval force of the United States was powerless to arrest a single ship in her progress, simply because it was applied without reference to general principles which guide the distribution of force for the protection of communications.

It is important to observe that there is no proportion between the force used in the interruption of sea communications, as compared with the amount of force required to secure them. To cripple the action of a single steamer we find it acknowledged, by one who ought to know best, that several cruisers would be required at certain points. A regular attack upon sea communications, therefore, involves the employment of an enormous force in their defence; and as the stations and positions are necessarily fixed, so must bases of operation be at hand to supply the wants of that defending force.

There is, however, another lesson we may learn from the cruise

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\* "My Adventures Afloat," by Admiral Semmes.

of the *Alabama*, which, if we profit by, is well worth £8,000,000 to our Empire. It is the value of coal to offensive and defensive operations at sea. We find considerations regarding the consumption and supply of coal constantly regulating and limiting the action of the *Sumter* and *Alabama*. While we congratulate ourselves that "even the stores of coal needed for marine locomotion are principally ours," we must remember that they are only ours so long as we protect them from destruction by bombardment or from capture by assault. It is therefore of paramount importance that our coal depôts along the Imperial lines should be efficiently and thoroughly defended; that they should not be selected at haphazard, or situated at places in the possession of any foreign power when it can possibly be avoided.

The closing scene of the career of the *Alabama* is, however, yet more instructive to those who have the defence of the empire at heart. True, she was sunk near to our own coast, almost in English waters, by the guns of the *Kearsage*, but if we would know what it was that forced her within the range of those guns we must carry our thoughts far away to the Indian Ocean. In the far east we find Captain Semmes writing as follows: "My ship will have to go into dock to have much of her copper replaced, now nearly destroyed by constant cruising, and to have her boilers overhauled and repaired, and this can only be done in Europe." And so to Europe the *Alabama* came. Defective and without adequate means of repair, she was no longer able to efficiently fulfil her mission, nor quite free to choose the fields of her action, so, dragging her damaged boilers and dilapidated hull down the Indian Ocean, round the Cape and up the broad Atlantic,\* she sought refuge and repair in a French port. The rest of her story is soon told. Denied the means necessary to restore her to her original efficiency as a ship of war, and with defective ammunition, she was compelled to engage an antagonist, whose challenge she was from her condition neither fit to accept nor able to avoid. In seventy minutes she was sunk. For want of means of repair in the Eastern hemisphere she lies beneath the waters of the English Channel, silently warning us to profit by the lessons she has taught.

There is one other popular view respecting the command of the

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\* "On May 2, we recrossed the Equator into the northern hemisphere . . . and ran up to our old tollgate, where, as the reader will recollect, we halted on our outward passage and *viséed* the passports of so many travellers. The poor old *Alabama* was not now what she had been then. She was like the wearied fox-hound, limping back after a long chase, footsore and longing for quiet and repose."—*Vide "My Adventures Afloat,"* by Admiral Semmes.

sea to which it is necessary to refer. It is that the command of the sea can be secured by the blockade of our enemy's coast. The experiences of the American war throw some light upon this argument. In the *Singapore Times* of December 9, 1868, we read : "From our shipping list it will be seen that there are no fewer than seventeen American merchantmen at present in our harbours. Their gross tonnage may be roughly set down at 12,000 tons. Some of them have been lying here now upwards of three months, and all this at a time when there is no dulness in the freight market; but, on the contrary, an active demand for tonnage to all parts of the world. It is indeed to us a home picture—the only one we trust to have for many years to come—of the widespread evils of war in modern days. But it is a picture quite unique in its nature, for the nation to which these seventeen fine ships belong has a navy perhaps second only to Great Britain, and the enemy with which she has to cope is but a schism from herself, possessed of no port that is not blockaded, and owning not more than five or six vessels on the high seas. The tactics with which the Federals have to combat are without precedent, and the means to enable them successfully to do so have not yet been devised."

It is as well to remark, that at the time this was written the naval force of the Federals consisted of about 700 ships and some 40,000 men ! Yet it was not equal to preventing the interruption of American commerce in distant seas, although it maintained a strict blockade of the enemy's ports. Now Singapore was a neutral port, and therefore afforded protection to the Federal vessels; but where are the available ports likely to be neutral, along our lines, to afford protection to our commercial fleets under similar circumstances ? The natural rendezvous of commercial fleets are in our possession, and could only afford protection in proportion to their means of defence.

By securing bases of operation for our war fleets, we also provide safe refuge for our traders at places where it is most required. If ever we are in real danger of invasion, we shall be actually engaged in a naval war; we shall not have the excuse that the tactics we have then to combat "are without precedent;" but we may bitterly regret that the means "to enable us successfully to do so have not been devised," not from lack of power, but from want of will.

While it is essential to guard the strategic points from capture by military force, it is equally necessary to secure their resources from destruction by bombardment from the sea; and in many

instances military force would be—from natural circumstances and situation—powerless to prevent such a contingency. The destruction of certain coal depôts might be accomplished in a few hours by a single ship with very few guns ; and heavy requisitions, on pain of instant bombardment, might be hastily levied on a fleet of merchantmen in harbour by “ an intelligent maritime Uhlan ” in the shape of an insignificant cruiser, even in the presence of military force. This danger can in several instances only be met by port defence vessels, and torpedoes. A very small local force, if trained and provided with these weapons, would meet the requirement. But where are the weapons ? Where is the force ? It will be too late to await the outbreak of war to provide the weapons and to train the force, for an attack on our coal depôts at the strategic points will not be the last, but the first act in the drama of future war. The means for their destruction are always at the disposal of any maritime power, but the measures for their adequate defence take much time to develop. A single cruiser bringing her guns to bear on one of our coal depôts, would in a few hours paralyse the action of our fleet for months.

It is not possible here to enter more fully into details respecting the defence of the Imperial roads, which is the first, and can be made the strongest line, of Colonial defences. In no way can our Colonies and possessions be so efficiently protected as by a firm command of their communications, for with the exception of Canada and India they would thus be exempted from the possibility of attack, and unless Canada and India are to be cut off from succour and support, their communications must be held, come what may.

The lines of Colonial defences may be thus summarised :—

1. The defence of their communications, which involves fortifying the Imperial strategic points, and the existence of a purely naval and a purely military force ; the one equal to the task of keeping open the roads between the points, the other sufficient to secure those points from capture in the necessary absence of the fleet.

2. The interior line of sea-defence, which must provide against the destruction, by bombardment from the sea, of naval resources at the strategic points in cases where that object cannot be secured by land batteries and military force. It also includes similar provision for the protection of Colonial mercantile ports to prevent their commercial reduction by enormous requisitions.

3. The defence of the soil of all Colonies and places not necessary to the Empire as military and strategic positions.

Having thus briefly viewed the nature of our requirements, it is desirable to draw some practical conclusions as to how they can best be met.

The communications of the Empire being the common property of all its component parts, each portion, according to the use it makes of them, has a direct interest in their defence, and should contribute to that object.

The forces intended for the defence of the communications must be Imperial, and not Colonial. They must be prepared to act at any point on the Imperial lines where they may happen to be required. Naval Colonial forces created under the Naval Defence Act of 1865 are only of value, and that to a very limited extent, to meet the necessities of the second or interior line of Colonial defence.

The forces necessary for the defence of the Imperial communications should be under the control of one directing head. As military force is necessary to the support of naval power, and as in our case military force is in its turn dependent upon naval power, the distribution of the one must have reference to that of the other. If, therefore, the military force is under the control of one department, and the naval force under that of another, the defence of our communications is, to use a homely phrase, "between two stools." In vain might our "Admiralty" despatch fleets to distant seas, if the bases of their operation are not secured by the "War Office;" equally valueless would be the distribution of military force for the protection of those places by the War Office, if the Admiralty do not keep the communications between them open. Unless there be a war minister responsible for, and controlling the general principles which should govern the action of each department, nothing but confusion can result when the Imperial communications are in danger.

If the Colonies are really in earnest in matters relating to their defence, it is time they should combine to force on the attention of the Imperial Parliament the neglected state of the Imperial roads, and the necessity for devising adequate means for their security. They must, however, be prepared to bear their fair share of the burden.

If the mind of the mother-country is morbid, and, from dwelling continually on the terrors of invasion, has lost the power of comprehending the consequences of investment, it is time her young and vigorous offspring should awaken her to a true sense of her position.

A Royal Commission to inquire into the defence of the Imperial communications, if properly constituted on an Imperial basis, would

lead to most important results. It may be taken as a certainty that such a Commission would recommend the permanent strengthening of the great strategic points, which it would be in a position accurately to define. It might possibly determine the just limits of Imperial and Colonial responsibilities in the question of defence.

With the creation of Imperial fortresses commanding the Imperial roads would grow up a feeling of common security. They would be links in the chain which binds together the military forces of our Empire: stepping-stones by which those forces can cross to afford mutual assistance and support.

Such a Commission, and such measures, might prepare the way for a Federation of the war forces of the Empire, which is essential to its safety. It would be easier in a given time to collect forces from all parts of the Empire at a given point now, than it was to concentrate the military forces in the United Kingdom on any particular place on the coast line sixty years ago. It is singular that when science has done, and is doing, so much to increase our power of concentration, Imperial policy should be undoing her work by persisting in the creation of local forces which it is impossible to move, and all this at a time when concentration is the great principle of attack, and the power of concentration is the great principle of defence. Though by nature and by science we possess all the physical means necessary for the concentration of military forces, we have neglected to turn them to account, and further, by limiting the action of military forces to the particular portions of the Empire where they are raised, we wilfully destroy the necessary power of resisting concentrated attack by a combination of Imperial resources, which is in these days the true source of strength.

It is only in maintaining the second line of Colonial defences that local forces are of real value, but it is the duty of the Empire to see that they are provided with the means and weapons to enable them to act. For the first and third lines they are of no avail, so long as the necessary power of concentration at the weakest point is absent. It is military necessity, and not constitutional law, which determines where the greatest power of resistance is to be applied.

While we acknowledge and applaud the principle, that it is every man's duty to defend his home, it is to be regretted that our ideas of its practical application are lamentably indistinct. The mother country has put her own construction on the word "home," in applying the principle of calling into existence military forces which can only be used to put up her shop shutters and to bar her

doors. She calls on her children to adopt her definition of its meaning and to follow her example, and some have done so. But who among the armies thus organised, for what she is pleased to call "home defence," can determine the exact distance from a man's home at which the obligation ends? Who can draw the magic circle which is to include the territorial area of his duty to die for his country? Home is something more than an abstract idea having reference only to locality; its foundations are laid in common interests, sympathy, and affection. A "silver streak of sea" cannot divide these interests, nor can miles of ocean sever the strong ties of affection and of sympathy. Hence it is that, from whatever quarter of the Empire a cry for help comes —wherever the British flag waves over Englishmen struggling on their own ground for all they hold dear—it is there our home is in danger, there is the rallying-point of forces created for its defence.

While we boast of armed hosts here and in the Colonies, whose proud motto is "home defence," we must "survey the Empire" to "behold our home."

At the conclusion of the reading, the President said he had to express the thanks of the society to Captain Colomb for his able and patriotic Paper. He only regretted that there had not been more Fellows present to hear it read. They would, however, have the advantage of circulating the Paper in the *European Mail* to all the Colonies. He confessed that as to the policy the Paper indicated, and the measures suggested, he strongly agreed with Captain Colomb, but they must look for the execution of these measures to be carried out by the action of the Colonies themselves. He feared that the House of Commons was too restricted in its policy and measures to look at such a wide question as this. He thought they must look to the Colonies to get this policy adopted and enforced. He hoped that as the Colonies grew in wealth and strength they would see in what their true interests lay. They should not rest satisfied until federation had been achieved, and then the Colonies should insist upon their right in mutually contributing to the defence of the Empire, and after this was done, in controlling the disposition of the forces they had helped to maintain. He meant shortly to visit Canada, and was glad that on this the last meeting of the year so patriotic and able a Paper had been read, which would no doubt be circulated in Canada before he arrived there. The vote of thanks to Captain Colomb was then unanimously carried.

The Scrutineers appointed to take the Ballot, having made their report, the President declared the following noblemen and gentlemen to constitute the Council for the ensuing year:—

## PRESIDENT.

His Grace the Duke of Manchester.

## VICE-PRESIDENTS.

His Royal Highness the Prince Christian, K.G.	The Right Hon. Viscount Monck, G.C.M.G.
His Grace the Duke of Argyll, K.T.	The Right Hon. Lord Lisgar, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.
His Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos.	The Right Hon. Chichester S. Fortescue, M.P.
The Right Hon. the Earl of Carnarvon.	The Right Hon. Sir Stafford H. Northcote, Bart., C.B., M.P.
The Right Hon. the Earl of Granville, K.G.	The Right Hon. Gathorne Hardy, M.P.
The Right Hon. Viscount Bury, K.C.M.G., M.P.	The Right Hon. Stephen Cave, M.P.

## COUNCILLORS.

Henry Blaine, Esq.	Sir Charles Nicholson, Bart., D.C.L.
The Right Hon. Lord A. S. Churchill.	Arthur J. Otway, Esq., M.P.
General Sir H. C. B. Daubeney, K.C.B.	T. F. Quin, Esq.
Humphry W. Freeland, Esq.	A. R. Roche, Esq.
Edward Jenkins, Esq.	Sir John Rose, Bart., K.C.M.G.
Alexander MacArthur, Esq.	Major General Millington Syng, R.E.
Sir Richard Graves MacDonnell, K.C.M.G., and C.B.	Sir R. R. Torrens, K.C.M.G., M.P.
R. A. Macfie, Esq., M.P.	William Walker, Esq.
William Maitland, Esq.	Edward Wilson, Esq.
Arthur Mills, Esq.	Leonard Wray, Esq.
Gisborne Molineux, Esq.	James A. Youl, Esq.
Hugh E. Montgomerie, Esq.	Frederick Young, Esq.

## TRUSTEES.

Thomas Baring, Esq., M.P.	Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, M.P.
Hon. G. Grenfell Glyn, M.P.	James Searight, Esq.

## HONORARY TREASURER.

W. C. Sargeaunt, Esq.

## HONORARY SECRETARY.

C. W. Eddy, Esq.

His Grace the PRESIDENT said that he was extremely proud that he should have earned so great a proof of their esteem as to be re-elected to that post, whose duties he had endeavoured to fulfil to the best of his ability. When he heard that it was proposed that he should be re-elected, he had deprecated the idea on the principle that it would be well that they should have an interval during which some fresh President might intervene. He, however, accepted the honour they had done him, and he only hoped that the Institution might continue to progress, and also that patriotic and Imperial feelings throughout England and her Colonies might increase during the second term of his office, as they had done during the first.

Mr. FREDERICK YOUNG regretted that the extremely valuable Paper just read had been presented under circumstances which rendered it impossible for them to do it justice by discussion. It would not do to let the Paper go forth to the world without its being quite understood that, though no doubt acceptable in many points to the meeting, it would have been fully discussed if time had admitted.

Colonel ALCOCK, referring to the recent events on the Gold Coast, deprecated the Governmental action which had deprived the native population of obtaining means of defence, and now, consequent on this, famine and serious after wars were imminent. He might add that the reason we lost the Ionian Islands was simply because the Greeks, not being encouraged to take part in their own defence, had no means of entering into military affairs, and sent their young men to prepare for the Civil Service in Italy. They all came back Carbonari, and thus it was that these beautiful islands had been lost.

Mr. GISBORNE MOLINEUX proposed a vote of thanks to the President, which being seconded by Mr. MONTGOMERIE, was duly carried and acknowledged.

Mr. LABILLIÈRE then proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Eddy, the Honorary Secretary, who had exerted himself so much during the session, and this being seconded and carried, the proceedings terminated.



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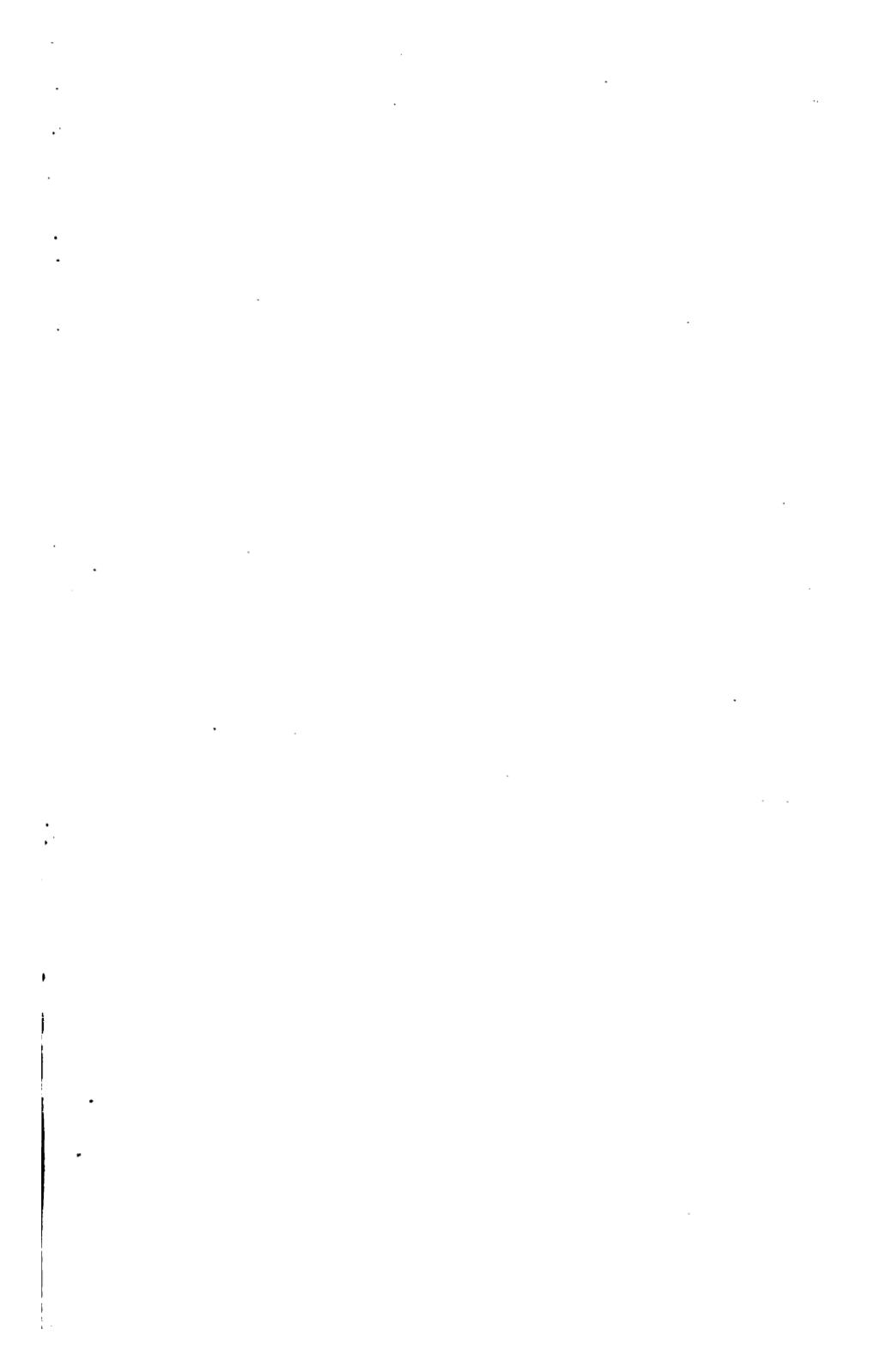
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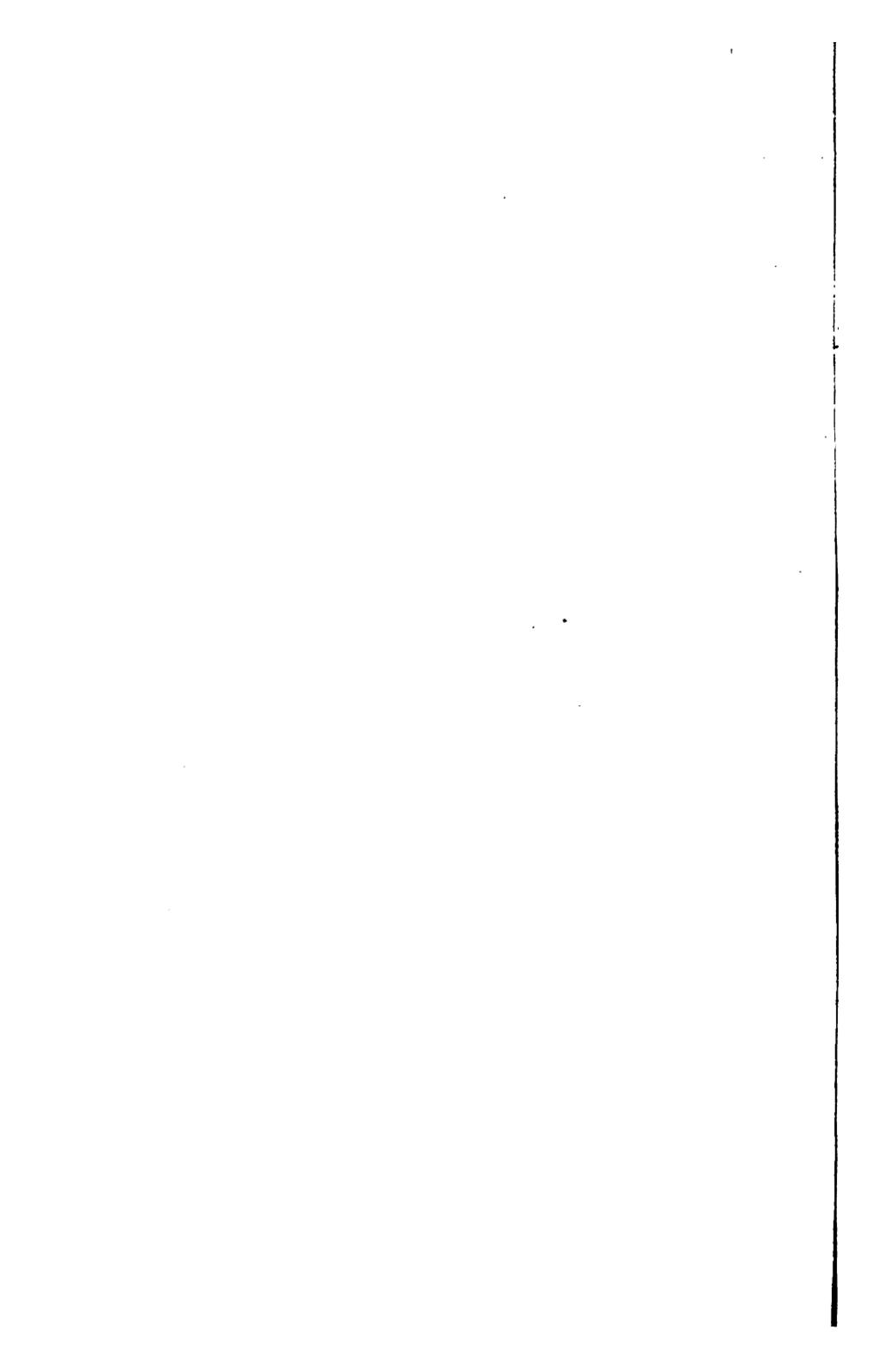
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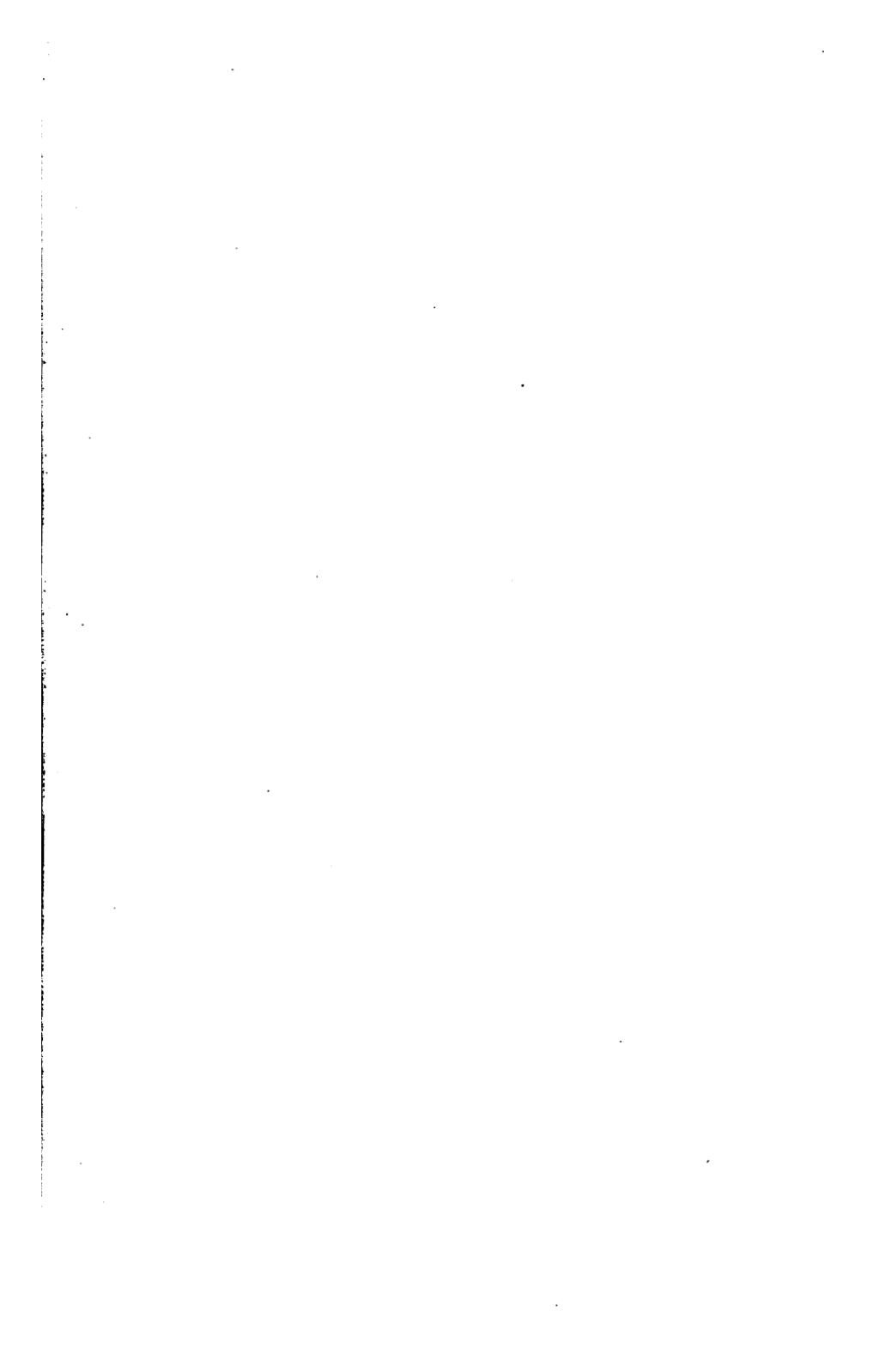
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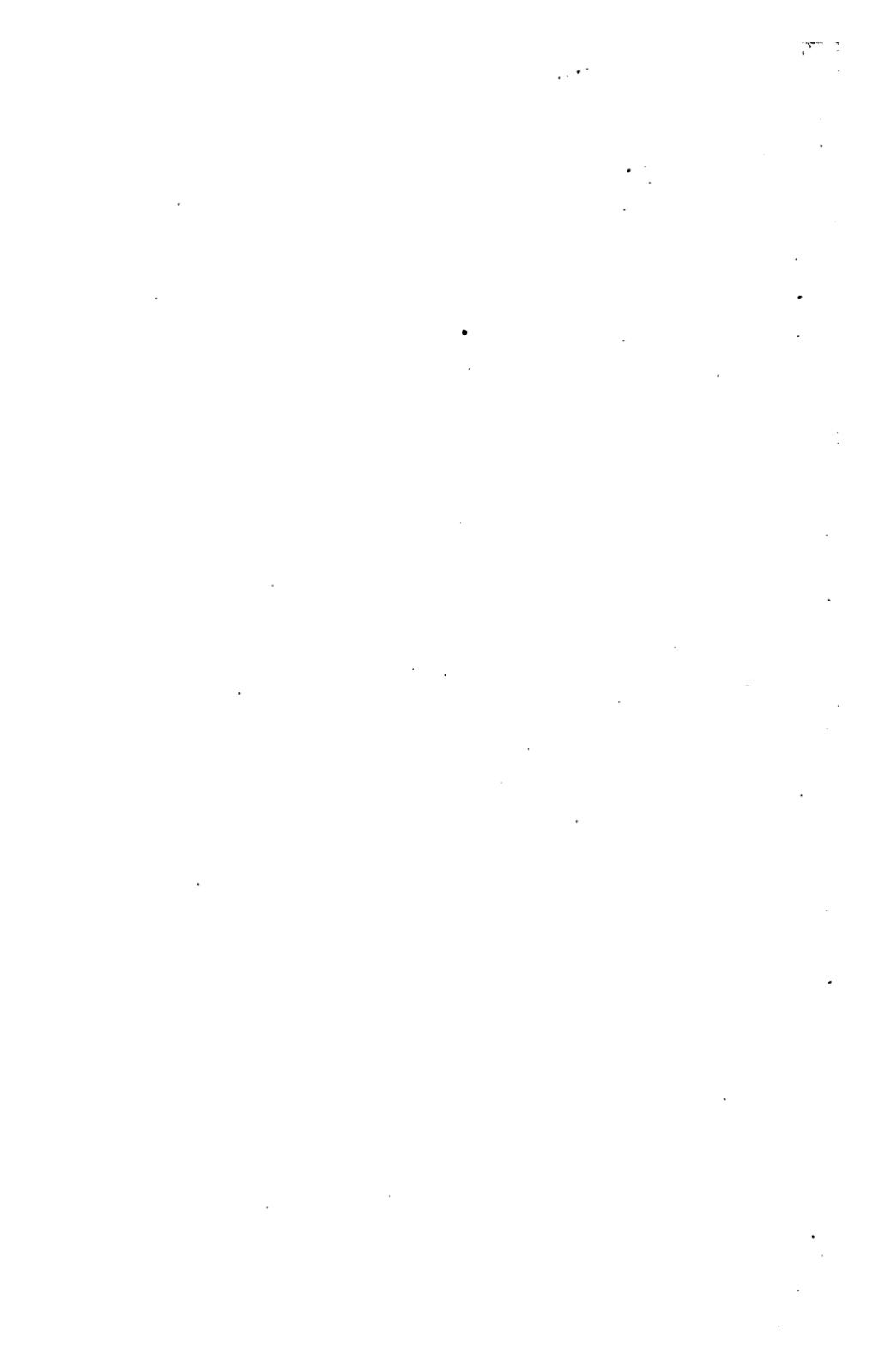
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